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COMBATTING RACISM THROUGH TEACHER TRAINING:
THE DOCUMENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT
OF A COURSE IN SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

A Dissertation Presented

By

BARBARA J. LOVE

In partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts for the
degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

Major Field: Urban Education

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STRATEGIES FOR COMBATTING RACISM THROUGH TEACHER TRAINING:


A DOCUMENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COURSE IN SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

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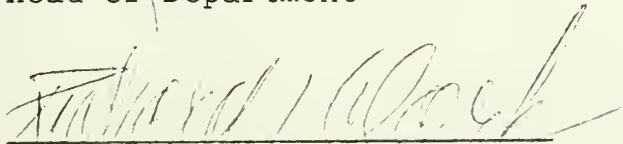
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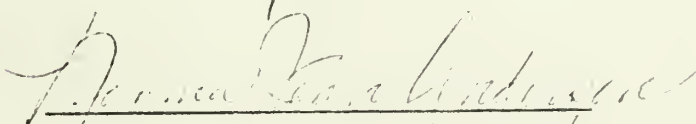
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Chairman of Committee



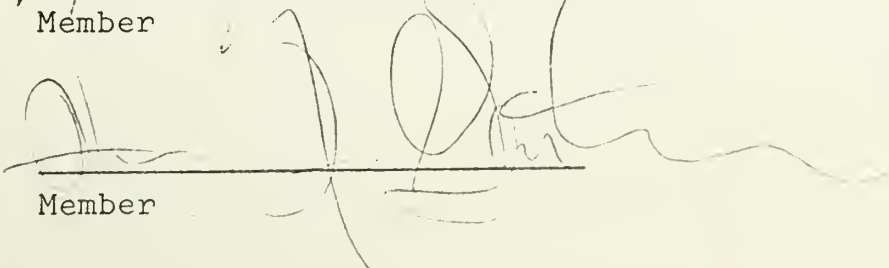
Dean Dwight W. Allen
Head of Department



Member



Member



Member

April, 1972

DEDICATION

to grand papa
who built the first school I ever attended

to papee
who always said, "My black beautiful Chile."

to mama and daddy (Mr. and Mrs. Dave Love)
who had faith and courage and willed me to succeed

to Ike Gordy

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To Dr. Byrd L. Jones whose encouragement, advice, assistance, patience; whose ability to aid the development of ideas and strategies, and for his ability to see how the real relates to the ideal and to communicate this clearly, I give special thanks.

I thank Dean Atron A. Gentry, first of all for the hope factor (for many times I might have quit), for helping to keep us honest by reminding us of the realities of the real world, and for shaking us when we would behave like those we criticize.

When I had dispensed with higher education on the grounds that it could offer nothing to solve the problems of urban schools, I met Dean Dwight Allen. In the process of initiating a revolution in higher education, Dr. Allen convinced me that higher education could and should take the lead in devising solutions to urban problems.

I thank Dr. Norma Jean Anderson and Dr. Richard Clark for their encouragement, support and assistance.

I am indebted to many people who assisted me in many ways: To Don Wilkinson, to Dr. Carolyn Peelee for her editing assistance and the support I needed during those last weary hours, and to Richard Schaye and Patrick Proctor for the tremendous and sustained programmatic support and assistance while I completed my dissertation.

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A warm thanks to my nephew Ronald who kept me company during many long hours and reminded me of my personal stake in the improvement of urban schools.

PREFACE

American schools have functioned for ethnic and minority group children in a fundamentally racist fashion. One of the strategies to change that situation is to develop insight into ways in which racism can be dealt with through teacher education and thus lay a basis for a re-examination of the goals of teacher education. This will involve restating priorities and defining new objectives for teacher education programs toward the elimination of racism.

Unlike other issues in education such as the need for individualized instruction, flexible-modular scheduling, and differentiated staffing, racism is an intangible. Freeing students of the rigidity of a traditional school schedule can be done through flexible-modular scheduling. Utilizing a variety of teacher skills and talents can be done through differentiated staffing and providing an opportunity for students to learn at their own pace can be realized through the individualization of instruction. However, these do not deal with the issue of racism in American society or in American education.

Then U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold House testified before the Kerner Commission's Subcommittee on Education and Racism that many teachers are unprepared for teaching in urban schools and therefore "have what is a traumatic experience there and don't last." This testimony provides

a striking point of direction for teacher education programs and suggests that a part of such considerations be a component specifically designed to equip prospective teachers with survival strategies and success strategies for teaching in urban schools.

A definition of Survival and Success in this paper is construed to include (a) recognizing racism and racist behaviors and attitudes, and (b) developing mechanisms to combat racism as teachers. The Center for Urban Education Teacher Education Program promises to provide prospective teachers with the kinds of skills, knowledge, understandings for success in urban schools. The vehicle for this program component is a course in Survival Strategies. The broad aims of the program are to:

- a. provide students with learning theories and implementation skills that are adapted specifically to the learning problems and processes of the urban child;
- b. provide a variety of clinical experiences for the prospective teacher so that he will know and understand, from personal experience, what many of the problems are that influence the learning process for the urban child;
- c. provide inter-racial experience that will benefit prospective teachers for any situation;

- d. develop positive attitudes toward teaching the urban child based on an understanding and respect for his world rather than the missionary zeal that is characteristic of many prospective urban teachers;
- e. acquaint the student with and develop an understanding of the civil rights movement and Black, Hispanic and Asian American history and culture;
- f. develop skills in human relations;
- g. train teachers who will respond to the work experience positively and be able to continue their professional development as a teacher in an urban school;
- h. the acquisition of change agent skills based on a knowledge of how schools work, and what some of the alternatives are.

Some basic generalizations on which the course in Survival Strategies is based with an implied statement of goals include:

- a. Special skills and sensitivities are needed by the urban school teacher in classroom management.
- b. To be effective in the urban classroom, the teacher should have knowledge and understanding of the history, culture and language and speaking styles

of Black, Puerto Rican and other minority groups.

- c. Prospective teachers should view the elimination of racism as part of their role as teacher.
- d. Teachers for urban schools should have a degree of sociological imagination for survival in an urban school.
- e. Society cannot continue to tolerate institutional and individual behaviors that categorizes, discriminates and relegates to inferior and second status roles, individuals on the basis of their race, sex or religion and ethnic background.
- f. Broad, in-depth, interracial, cross cultural experiences are a necessary part of the training for any teacher.
- g. Understanding of the learning problems and processes of the urban child necessary to be successful in the urban classroom.
- h. The teacher of quality for any school must have:
 - 1. an honest insight into self.
 - 2. an awareness of the impact of self on other people.
 - 3. an increased sensitivity to the feelings of others.

4. a better understanding of the behavior of others.
5. an understanding of the forces that operate in a group.
6. an understanding of the effectiveness of the student as a group member and as a leader.
7. an understanding of and use of organizational effectiveness, motivation, leadership and managing change.
8. the ability to communicate creatively, accurately, frankly, freely, fully and effectively.
9. the courage to experiment, to disagree, and to receive criticism.
10. a thorough knowledge of the subject matter.

This dissertation is composed of four chapters. The first chapter analyzes racism in American education in terms of the traditional goals of American schools. A major conclusion was that the schools continue to serve the goals, needs and interests of those who currently dominate society at large and aids in the maintenance of America's color caste system.

Chapter two documents the proposition that one of the major reasons for the poor achievement performance of many inner city pupils is inadequately

trained teachers. The recommendation was made for careful examination and revision of teacher training programs with a new definition of teacher roles and terms to describe success. The Center for Urban Education Teacher Education Program is offered as a model program designed specifically to prepare teachers for the inner city. The two major considerations on which CUETEP is based are discussed: (1) the importance of clinical experiences in preparing teachers for inner city schools, and (2) the importance of knowledge and understanding about racism, in both its individual and institutional forms as a basis for effective handling of the central pathology underlying the failure of urban schools. The various components of the program are examined with prescriptive treatment given to survival strategies interconnection with the total program.

Chapter three clarifies and specifies those skills, attitudes, sensitivities, and understandings deemed necessary for success as a teacher in an urban school. The modules that comprise Survival Strategies are then presented. Chapter four concludes with the evaluation and recommendations.

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CHAPTER I

RACISM AND AMERICAN EDUCATION

A recent presidential primary which was, in fact, a referendum on 'busing,' 'integration,' and 'an open society,' served to inform those who would forget, that much of America is yet, at heart, racist. The results of that primary indicated that individual and institutional racism will continue to manifest itself in the institutions of society for at least the next ten or twenty years.

This dissertation seeks to explore both the individual and the institutional manifestations of racism in the nation's educational institutions. It presents a developed curriculum for a pre-practicum course designed to prepare interns who can combat racism for inner city schools. As recent elections - whether for national office or local school boards - have revealed, white racism is a live and an emotional issue in America. Integration, busing, and neighborhood separation by class and race have become national issues of particular importance for education.

Exploring the issue of racism in American education becomes very complex for two reasons; first, racism is both overt and covert and must be understood on two levels - the individual, and the institutional. Individual

racism takes the form of individual whites acting against members of minority groups in ways which deny those persons equal access to the benefits and rewards of society. Institutional racism is less overt, far more subtle, and less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing racist acts; rather it is evident in the distribution of the rewards of the society, in the decisions of who receives training and skills, medical care, formal education, political influence, moral support and self-respect, productive employment, fair treatment by the law, decent housing, self-confidence and the promise of a secure future.¹

Second, white racism has manifested itself in thousands of ways in American society so that it has become a part of the total pattern. The white community uses established and respected forces in society against minorities. In the economic sector, Blacks are unemployed, underemployed, and underpaid. In law, in politics, in education and in tests of social status, the pattern is basically the same.

For Black workers, the adage of last hired and first fired has remained painfully true. In 1970 Black unemployment was 8.3 per cent, while white unemployment was 4.5 per cent according to the Department of Commerce. Unemployment of Black teenagers in urban centers has ranged as high as a startling 44.9 per cent compared with 18.1 per cent for white teenagers.²

¹Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, (Eds.). Institutional Racism in America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969), p. 5.

²New York Times, April 10, 1971.

Statistics reveal that not only are Blacks twice as likely to be unemployed, but when employed are likely to be underemployed. In 1969 white males held 98 per cent of private jobs paying over \$15,000 a year. Non-white males held 1 per cent. In 1970, of all generally low-earning household workers, 42 per cent were Black; but of all generally higher-earning managers, officials, proprietors and sales people, only 4 per cent were Black.³ Many industries still have a very low percentage of Black employees. In the higher paid building and construction trades which are dominated by the unions, Blacks make up less than 3 per cent of the membership. For example, over 99 per cent of the plumbers' union membership is white. Those unions which have a substantial percentage of minorities all are concentrated at the lower end of the wage scale.⁴

A third factor affecting the economic status of minorities in America is that they are usually underpaid. In 1970 white families averaged \$10,236 per year while Black families averaged \$6,279 per year. In 1969, white males with an eighth grade education earned \$7,018 per year while Black males with a high school diploma earned \$6,192 per year. More dramatically, in that same year, Blacks with a college degree earned one-hundred sixty dollars less than whites with a high school diploma.⁵

³"White Control and Minority Oppression," (Foundation for Social Change), September, 1971, p. 1.

⁴New York Times, February 9, 1971.

⁵Ibid., p. 10.

The impact of past and current job discrimination is obvious. While some gains have been made, the majority of all Black people remain poor. Comprising eleven per cent of the nation's population, Blacks control only one half of one per cent of the nation's economy or 4.5 billion dollars in a trillion dollar economy according to the Department of Commerce, Office of Minority Business Enterprise.

In the judicial and law enforcement system statistics reveal that the administration of justice has not been evenly balanced. Blacks are less likely than whites to serve on juries, but more likely to be convicted by juries.⁶ The chance of a Black person to be tried in a court presided over by a Black judge is very unlikely. Actually there are just twenty-two Black federal judges out of a total of 459 and only 178 state and city judges are Black out of a total of 12,000.⁷ State police forces North and South remain almost totally white. They also found that Blacks are arrested three to four times more often than whites. A study completed by William Kephart in Philadelphia revealed that more than half of the city's district patrolmen found it "necessary" to be more strict with Black than white offenders.⁸

⁶Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968), p. 68.

⁷"Black Lawyers and Judges in the United States, 1960-1970," Ebony Magazine, August, 1971.

⁸William Kephart, Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957), p. 18.

In the political arena, the evidence indicates that the American political system contains built in biases favorable to certain groups and hostile to others, particularly racial and ethnic minority groups. Although the Black population has recently begun to vote in numbers, they have not been included as respected power brokers within the political system. There are few elected Black political officials, on the national, state and local levels. This discrimination has resulted in (a) exclusion of minorities from participation in decision making processes, and (b) a lack of responsiveness of decision making groups to the needs and concerns of minority groups.

When the educational establishment is examined closely the historical pattern of the inequities in the quality of education provided for minority groups becomes clear. If the indices of number of minority school superintendents (two in the nation), percentage of minority principals, teachers and other professional personnel are examined, a clear pattern of racism emerges. Further, the small number of minority students in colleges, graduate and professional schools presents a similar pattern.

Briefly then racism is interwoven into every basic institution in American society. Total societal commitment to eliminate institutional racism is necessary because of its threat to America's existence. Racism contradicts principles of equality and liberty which are essential prerequisites of a democratic society. The Supreme Court's 1954 declaration that separate but equal societal institutions for racial and ethnic minorities has never been accepted by the American people.

Until 1972 a societal commitment has been difficult for two reasons. First, racism has traditionally been viewed as the black man's problem to be solved by the black man. Second, because of this belief, most attempts at understanding racism have focused on a review of the black man's plight rather than on the overall pathology of racism. Even the Kerner Commission Report identifies white racism as the problem, then spent most of its time dealing with the symptoms or evidences of racism.

Focusing attention on the educational system is particularly important for this is one of the keys to breaking the pattern of racism in society. An effort to reverse the trend of the poor performance of schools for minority groups can become the basis for more effective minority involvement with the other institutions of society. Changing the institutional structures, resource allocation, personnel selection and placement practices would become the beginning of altering the outcome of the school experience for both white and minority group children.

The popular notion that schools serve well the interests and needs of middle class white children is a false one. Racism in American education not only reflects the racism in the society at large but also reinforces and perpetuates it, breeding ignorance, superstition, provincialism, and irrational fears and hatreds.⁹ White students learn false notions of superiority through what is taught and what is not, and particularly through seeing only their own

⁹ Harold Howe, Kenneth Clark, et al., Racism in American Education: A Dialogue and Agenda for Action, (New York: Harper, 1970), p. 13.

image reflected in authoritative positions in the schools. By the failure of the school to challenge the racial and class divisions of society while embracing the concept and principles of democracy, white students are poorly prepared to deal with the issue of racism as citizens, and to recognize the threat that is posed to the continued existence of this society.

Prominent educators have agreed that America's school system is racist. The problem, as Clark noted, is in understanding how deeply racism is entrenched in the fabric of the system and in determining alternative solutions for dealing with racism as an educational issue. Educators agree that "no issue in American life today is more important and more urgent than racism and American education."¹⁰ After confirming that American educational institutions reflect racial and class distinctions, it becomes far more difficult to delineate the dimensions of the problem.

Clearly American schools have failed poor and minority youngsters. Statistics on reading and verbal scores on achievement tests on the national and local school district levels speak to the failure of schools to educate poor and minority youngsters. The difficulty in developing an understanding of racism that leads to adequate solutions from a discussion of these statistics is due in part to the explanation usually provided for them. These youngsters,

¹⁰Ibid., p. 3.

it is usually said, bring to school certain handicaps which inhibit the learning process. These are (1) a tendency to be withdrawn and uncommunicative, (2) a hostile reaction to authority figures, (3) difficulty in developing a consonance of conduct, (4) a dearth of educational experiences prior to entering school, (5) low motivation to do well in school, and (6) negative community influence.¹¹

A report released in February, 1972, by Harvey B. Scribner, Chancellor of the New York City School Systems, showed that students attending schools in low-income Black and Puerto Rican sections of the city frequently scored as much as three to five years behind norms.¹² With traditional insight, the report called for more and massive reading programs to bring students up to the 'norm.' With a typical lack of insight, the report failed to address the issue of racism, as it manifested itself in the poor in-school performance of low-income and minority youngsters.

Educators, particularly officials of urban schools districts due to the sheer weight of numbers and the complexity of the problems, have failed to address the issue: "How can we change the institutional structures which produce the racial and class discrepancies in the performance of school children?" Their failure causes the difficulty in developing viable solutions.

¹¹ Youth In the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and A Blueprint for Change, Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, (New York: Oran Press, 1964), p. 197.

¹² The New York Times, February 20, 1972.

Studies, reports, and district rulings continue to belabor the indices of racism - low reading scores, poor pupil achievement, high absentee rates, high vandalism rate, low parental involvement in the affairs of the school. Few school officials and few of the studies and reports, including the impressive HARYOU studies, deal directly with racism rather than the manifestation of it.

A large part of the problem stems from the consistent refusal of educators to ask the hard question, "Are schools failing these youngsters because the system is designed that way?" Society is now willing for Blacks to say, "I was a victim of a poor education and therefore unemployment, housing. . ." and on through the circle. It is not acceptable, and society will not entertain the proposition that this 'failure' was intended.

There are several ways to get at the hard facts of racism in education and one way is to examine racism as it affects resource allocation and the resulting inequities in the quality of the in-school experience for poor and minority youngsters. In terms of overall resource distribution, the United States Commission on Civil Rights found that although state aid to city schools has increased at a rate proportionately greater than for suburban schools, states continue to contribute more per pupil to suburban schools in seven of the twelve metropolitan areas studied. This finding was confirmed by the Urban Education Task Force which reported that, on the average, per capita State education aid in the large city areas was almost twice as great as in

their outlying areas.¹³ The Civil Rights Commission also found that Federal contributions to city schools have not had consistent equalizing effects.¹⁴

In Chicago, a group of parents sued the school board for "economic and racial discrimination." They charged that: "In 1969, the official budget of the Board of Education allocated, on the average, 10.4 per cent higher amounts per pupil in elementary schools attended by predominantly Caucasian students. In its 1970 budget, this difference increased to 12.2 per cent."¹⁵

In Washington, D. C., Julius Hobson examined budgetary allocation practices in the public schools. He found that the highest expenditure per pupil in any elementary school in the predominantly black community equaled only 81 per cent as much as the lowest expenditure per pupil in the elementary schools located in the predominantly white community. Based on data from the D. C. Board of Education on expenditures in 1968, per pupil expenditures in predominantly Black elementary schools ranged from \$292 to \$334 per pupil expenditures in predominantly white elementary schools ranged from \$510 to \$798. The differences in per capita expenditures he found were greater

¹³Wilson C. Riles, Urban Education Task Force Report: Final Report of the Task Force on Urban Education to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, (New York: Praeger, 1970), p. 57.

¹⁴U. S. Commission on Civil Rights, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (Washington: G. P. O., 1967), p. 225.

¹⁵"White Control and Minority Oppression," p. 4.

than those recorded in the elementary school systems in the states of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana or Mississippi.¹⁶

When examining the quality of the teaching staff, the Kerner Commission found that the schools attended by Negro children commonly are staffed by teachers with less experience and lower qualifications than those attended by middle class whites. A 1963 study, ranking Chicago's public schools by the socio-economic status of the surrounding neighborhood further illustrates this point. The study found that in the 10 lowest ranking schools, only 63.2 per cent of all teachers were fully certified and the median level of teaching experience was 3.9 years. Four of those lowest ranking were 100 per cent Black and three were over 90 per cent. Eight of the ten highest ranking schools had nearly total white enrollment and the other two were more than 75 per cent white. In these schools, 90.3 per cent of the teachers were fully certified and the median level of teaching experience was 12.3 years.¹⁷

An examination of hiring and placement practices of large urban school districts indicate that this situation occurs more by design than by accident. One urban school administrator speaking of his district's recruiting and hiring practices stated that his district maintains an unofficial policy of recruiting

¹⁶ Julius Hobson, The Damned Children (Washington Institute for Quality Education, 1970), p. 23.

¹⁷ Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 122.

and hiring teachers with a minimum number of years experience in teaching. These teachers are frequently non-certified and can therefore be hired at a lower salary level while acquiring certification requirements. Invariably, these teachers are placed in inner-city schools. With the disproportionately high teacher turnover rate in inner-city schools, the number of experienced, certified teachers in inner-city schools never rises to any substantial percentage.

An official of a district who maintains such a policy would contend that there is nothing inherently racist about the policy itself. Urban school districts across the nation are having difficulty balancing the budget. The policy mentioned above is designed solely to save money for a financially overburdened district. It is a long standing policy of the system to permit teacher selection of placement on the basis of seniority. If certified, experienced teachers select placement in non inner-city schools and non-certified, inexperienced teachers do not last in inner-city schools, how can it be a racist policy of the district that causes poor and minority group children to have the least experienced, least qualified teachers in the district.

The problem of teacher quality in inner-city schools is aggravated by the fact that few teacher's colleges and institutions of higher education are training teachers prepared to teach in the inner-city. A recent survey conducted by the President's Commission on School Finance to determine the views of Superintendents and School Board presidents in the big city schools of America

concluded that, according to these officials, "by and large teachers are not adequately prepared to handle the problems of the inner-city schools." The administrators specified that one of their greatest needs is for ". . . teachers who are highly skilled in their subject areas but who also are sensitive to the ethnic and cultural diversities of their students." They felt that the "entire educational staff and the 'system' itself must begin to develop attitudes of equality, attitudes which enable teachers and administrators to perceive children and adults who come out of the inner-city as equal human beings."¹⁸

The effects of racism, which has become institutionalized in school systems through the means described above, becomes evident in several ways: (1) through the skills that students develop which determine their ability to successfully negotiate the society, (2) through the self-concept that students develop which to a large extent determines the ways in which the individual will organize and direct his behaviors in relationship to the society at large, (3) through the role definition that is learned via the socialization process that occurs in every classroom, and (4) through the values and aspiration levels that are developed by poor and minority group children.

The question is frequently posed, by educators, their brother sociologists, and laymen alike: "Why doesn't the Negro follow the pattern of other immigrants to our nation's cities, from the slum, up the ladder of educational,

¹⁸Report of the President's Commission on School Finance, "Big City Schools on America: Views of Superintendents and School Board Presidents." (Washington: G.P.O. 1972), p. 25.

economic and social success?" The fact is, the racial and ethnic minorities, the urban immigrant of today, possess essentially the same general goals as those of the nationality immigrants of yesterday.¹⁹ Among these goals are the attainment of self-respect, personal safety, economic security and acceptance in the mainstream of society without loss of individual self-identity. That the new urban immigrant has not followed the path of the older nationality immigrants is strikingly evident in the record of their relationship to the school system, that vehicle which is used generally by immigrants to achieve upward mobility.

HARYOU, a massive study of conditions in Central Harlem, reported that "the basic story of academic achievement in Central Harlem is one of inefficiency, inferiority, and massive deterioration."

. . . a uniformly low level of both reading comprehension and word knowledge. . . from 13.2 to 39.6 per cent of the third grade pupils are reading below grade level. . . for sixth grade pupils, from 60.4 to 93.5 per cent score below grade level. . . In arithmetic, the same picture of massive underachievement. . . from 29 to 81 per cent perform below grade. . . For problems and concepts. . . 37 to 91 per cent below grade performance. . . In no junior high is the proportion of underachievement less than 70 per cent and in some schools it is over 80 per cent. . . only about half of the ninth graders in Central Harlem received diplomas. . . only one per cent of Central Harlem pupils enter an academic high school requiring an admission exam. . .²⁰

¹⁹ Riles, p. 159.

²⁰ Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, p. 166.

HARYOU concluded that ". . . over three-fourths of the diplomas received by Central Harlem students were general diplomas. . ." and that "unprepared to go on to college, and lacking any certified commercial or vocational skills, students with general diplomas enter the labor market in what is but a slightly better position than students who never completed high school."²¹

For some time, educators and commentators have recognized that the schools aid many people in becoming upwardly mobile but also serve the social system by keeping many people down.²² According to these spokesmen:

. . . the educational system may be thought of as an "enormous complicated machine for sorting and ticketing and routing children through life."²³

The students are then consigned to the social and economic garbage heap of society. In molding children to a stratified society, the school engages in continuous sorting and selecting of students, rating, ranking and separating them into various quality groups.²⁴

²¹Ibid., p. 180.

²²William L. Warner, Who Shall Be Educated (New York: Harper, 1944), p. 4.

²³Ibid., p. 49; See also Patricia Sexton, Education and Income: Inequality of Opportunity in the Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1961), p. 54.

²⁴Sexton, Education and Income, p. 54.

Sociological inquiries into community and school have found various stratification systems. Hollingshead found a six class stratification system in Elmtown's high school, one that gave rewards to students based on their family's class position. Virtually all studies have found that the success of students in school is directly related to their economic class background.²⁵ Since seventy-two per cent of all Black families in the United States earned less than \$7,000 in 1966 this meant that the bulk of black students in urban schools come from the lower economic classes.²⁶ The problem for the Black child is compounded, for in addition to personal difficulties on the part of the teacher to accept and respect differences, there is the educational system's - and indeed society's - lack of interest in doing so.

Research shows that schools have failed to equip children of the ghetto with educational experience which could help overcome the effects of discrimination and deprivation. That is, the system has failed to provide inner-city students with the necessary level of achievement. In a detailed examination of urban education led by Congressman Alphonzo Bell and released by ten other members of the House of Representatives, one conclusion was:

Each student in America should be given the opportunity to acquire the basic tools of speech, writing, reading and math, without which he can

²⁵ August Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1949), p. 16. Also see Sexton, Education and Income, p. 50.

²⁶ Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, p. 251.

neither learn further nor compete effectively. The Core City youth, especially the ghetto Negro, is not now acquiring these skills and we believe that urban education is inadequate to provide him the opportunity to acquire them.²⁷

The Coleman Report, the Urban Education Task Force Report, the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, and a large body of literature reporting research findings document the failure of schools to provide skills for ghetto youth to become upwardly mobile. Data from the Coleman Report show that in the Metropolitan Northeast, the average Negro student in grades one through twelve scores eight points less on a non-verbal exam, nine points less on verbal exams, eight points less on a reading exam and ten points less on a math exam. Figures are similar in the Midwest and worse in the Far West.

A further result, in addition to failure to develop required skills, is the failure of the urban school to recognize and appreciate the special skills, understandings and appreciations which children of the ghetto acquire in the course of their out of school lives. The image of the Negro child given the teacher by many professors and supervisors has been one of the lovable child of limited intellectual capacity, unable to gear himself to competition of any appreciable degree, and of his culture as one which has made an extremely

²⁷The Congressional Record, August 19, 1968.

limited contribution to the total American heritage. When teachers feel that students cannot learn, then school becomes simply a 'holding operation' devoted to custodial care, rather than educational institutions.²⁸

The Self Concept That Is Developed

Ask any student why it is important for him to get an education and he replies in terms that add up to "I am preparing for life." One of the key ingredients in successfully "preparing for life," is to have faith that indeed you can. James Coleman found, as a result of a major survey, that one of the factors having greatest effect on pupil performance was a sense of fate control.²⁹ Possessing a concept of self that permits the individual to feel that he can be successful frequently leads to success.

The self-concept that the individual develops is affected by a variety of factors, many of them having to do with the school. The teacher who remarked: "I think we teachers should walk out and protest inferior students," says to some extent what those factors are that relate to the development of the self-concept of the Black child.³⁰ The picture that the sociologists and their brother educators have established as being characteristic of the urban minority

²⁸Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1965), p.

²⁹Coleman, p. 319.

³⁰Miriam Dann, "New Teachers in Urban Schools," in James Stone and Frederick Schneider, (eds.), Teaching in the Inner City (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 132.

student is frequently that he is "inferior," a "poor" or "underachiever," "apathetic," "unable to delay gratification," "have verbal patterns that do not allow for abstract thought," plagued by "family instability," and caught in a "tangle of pathology."³¹ This is the view that is passed on to the child through his schooling process and is startlingly present in the evidence.

In the context of the school world, a student who is defined as a "poor student" (by significant others and thereby by self) comes to conceive of himself as such and gears his behavior accordingly. The social expectation is realized.³² Most of the literature relating to urban schools focuses on the low achievement scores of minority group children and how far below national norms these students are.

The validity of the application of these norms is open to question, but the point here has to do with the relationship of self-concept to the level of achievements, which is beginning to be explored in the literature. Helen Davidson and Judith Greenberg found in an examination of children from Central Harlem, that "the lower the level of self-esteem, the lower the level of achievement; while. . . higher levels of self appraisal and ego strength and feelings of self-competence were associated with higher levels of achievement."³³

³¹ William Ryan, "Savage Discovery: The Moynihan Report," The Nation, November 22, 1965, p. 381.

³² R. H. Coombs, V. Davies, "Self-Conception and the Relationship between High School and College Scholastic Achievement," Sociology and Social Research, July, 1966, p. 468.

³³ Helen H. Davidson and Judith W. Greenberg, Traits of School Achievers from a Deprived Background (New York: City College of City University, May 1967), 133.

In another significant but frequently overlooked study on "Minority Groups and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement," Deutsch found that one of the significant factors converging on the urban child to be ". . . his sensing that the larger society views him as inferior and expects inferior performance from him as evidenced by the general denial to him of realistic vertical mobility possibilities."³⁴ The result seems to be a natural one: that the black child would tend strongly to question his own competence and in so questioning would be acting largely as others expect him to act, an example of what Merton has called the self-fulfilling prophecy.³⁵

Perhaps Alvin Poussaint spoke most directly to the plight of the black youth in America's schools. In an article on "Black Youth and Motivation," Poussaint noted that for the black youth in white American society, the "generalized other" whose attitudes he assumes and the looking glass into which he gazes both reflect the same judgment. He is inferior because he is Black. His self image, developed in the lowest stratum of a color caste system is shaped, defined and evaluated by a "generalized other" which is racist or

³⁴ Martin Deutsch, Minority Groups and Class Status as Related to Social and Personality Factors in Scholastic Achievement (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 23.

³⁵ Robert Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (London: Collier-Macmillan, Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), p. 60.

warped by racists. Poussaint added that "To the extent that the self is shaped with reference to a generalized other, to that extent will the Black child's image be impaired as long as America remains racist. Poussaint concluded that, "for the Black child to be motivated to achieve in school, the school must negate everything that the society affirms: it must tell the child that he can succeed and he will."³⁶

Before schools can do this, they must actively accept Dewey's challenge to "assume an increasing responsibility for participation in projecting ideas of social change and taking part in their execution. . ."³⁷ Institutions of higher education must prepare teachers who are equipped to forge a new social order. Teachers must begin to understand the phenomena of racism, in both its individualized and institutionalized forms, particularly as it works to impair the self-concept of the child with the resultant record of low achievement. Teachers must be prepared to reverse a long and well entrenched definition of the role of the teacher, and develop attitudes, skills and patterns of behavior which foster the development of a positive self-concept.

The Role Definition That Is Learned

A substantial portion of the urban youth's success in school learning has nothing to do with skill development or academic achievement, but with how

³⁶ Alvin Poussaint and Carolyn Atkinson, "Black Youth and Motivation," The Black Scholar, March, 1970, p. 43.

³⁷ John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: Macmillan, 1944), p. 290.

one must behave. The normative expectations for behavior and attitudes presented in the classroom are being learned by children as crucial aspects of the world with which they must cope. Schools pass on to children, in myriad ways, ". . . this is your station in society; act, perform, talk, learn according to it and no more."³⁸

The way the teacher structures both her relations with the children and their relations with each other sets up a behavioral model for them, the implications of which extend far beyond the classroom. Generally, teachers reflect in their attitudes toward their pupils, the status system of the society, with concomitant definitions of roles. In addition to the influence of teacher attitudes, a variety of other devices are used by the school which result in social stratification, the most common being ability grouping and the tracking system.

In a study on "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations," Ray Rist found that the organization of the Kindergarten classroom according to the expectations of success or failure after the eighth day of school became the basis for the differential treatment of the children for the remainder of the school year. The teachers preferential treatment of a select group of students appeared to be derived from her belief that certain behavioral and cultural characteristics are more crucial to learning in school than others.

³⁸Eleanor Burke Leacock, Teaching and Learning in City Schools (New York: Basic Books, 1969), p. 117, 7.

The seating arrangement that began in the Kindergarten as a result of the teacher's definition of which children possessed or lacked the perceived necessary characteristics for success in the public school system emerged in the first grade as a caste phenomenon in which there was no mobility upward. Thus the lower groups were "in numerous ways informed of their lower status and were socialized for a role of lower self expectations and also for respect and deference towards those of higher status."³⁹

In another study dealing with the way the school is administratively equipped to socialize youngsters, Robert Mackler found that no one in this sample (of 1200) made it to the top after the third grade except those who had been in the top classes in previous years. Those pupils who were in the top class stayed there or dropped a notch or two, but none of the average or failing pupils moved up to the top classes.⁴⁰ What role, then, is learned by urban school youngsters?

In the context of the school world, a student who is defined as a 'poor student' comes to conceive of himself as such and gears his behavior accordingly.⁴¹ How is the urban school student defined? Literature related to ghetto youth is replete with basically negative characterizations. Teachers

³⁹Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education," in Lawrence Fink and Raymond Ducharme, Crisis in Urban Education (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1971), p. 411.

⁴⁰Robert Mackler, "Grouping in the Ghetto," p. 86.

⁴¹Coombs, p. 468.

learn that their students are "apathetic. . . culturally disadvantaged. . . have poor impulse controls. . . personality defects. . . are destined to be sociopaths . . . assault one another, violate school regulations, and in general show themselves bound for a life of crime, indolence or madness. . . have lowered achievement goals, or self-esteem impairment." They are considered "unable to delay gratification," or to "plan for the future." They supposedly have verbal patterns that do not allow for abstract thought.⁴²

Furthermore, the position taken in the Moynihan report on the Negro family is that "family instability" leading to poor educational motivation and achievement and hence limited job opportunity is basic to the "tangle of pathology" which is characteristic of ghetto life.⁴³ This report has formed the basis for many policies relating to the black youth, both in and out of school. Clark employed a group of white students to interview a sample of white teachers in the New York inner-city. Fifty per cent of the subjects stated that Negroes were inherently inferior in intelligence and, therefore could not be expected to learn.⁴⁴

Given the above, it seems an understatement to say that urban schools generally relate to poor and minority children in ways that prepare them for

⁴²Robert Coles, "Children of the American Ghetto," in Stone and Schneider, (Eds.), Teaching in the Inner City (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Co. 1970), p. 132; See also Ryan, p. 382 and Leacock, p. 210.

⁴³Daniel P. Moynihan, Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding (New York: Free Press, 1969), p. 73.

⁴⁴Kenneth Clark, "Clash of Cultures in the Classroom," in Moyer Weinberg, (Ed.), Learning Together (Chicago: Integrated Education Association, 1964), p. 18.

subordinate roles in society. Formal schooling (or lack of it) affords almost the sole pattern toward attainment of occupational roles in adult life.⁴⁵ The children of the ghetto learn that lower status roles are structured for them through their participation in the schooling process.

Attitudes Toward School and Society That Are Acquired

In a variety of ways, schools teach attitudes. Every school has its own special characteristics, special folkways, customs, and legends. The culture of the school has a profound effect upon what children and adolescents learn and the ways in which they learn. There is a saying that "children learn not what is taught but what is 'caught.'" Much of what is caught, attitudes toward school and society, values of right and wrong, comes not from the formal curriculum but from the pervading culture of the school.⁴⁶

The development of attitudes is achieved in several ways by the school. One of the more significant methods discussed earlier is that of grouping procedures in the school. The correlation between race or ethnic group, and level in the class order to placement in an ability group in school has been noted. We have further noted how placement in a group serves to develop attitudes toward roles. In particular, the teacher's negative image of dis-

⁴⁵Warner, p. 200.

⁴⁶Robert Havinghurst and Daniel Levine, Education In Metropolitan Areas (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971), p. 79.

advantaged children lowers the children's self-perception or self-image.⁴⁷

An additional factor, noted by Rist in his research, is that social distance between the groups within the classroom was manifested in its extreme form by the maintenance of patterns of caste segregation whereby those of lower positions were not allowed to become a part of the peer group at the highest level.⁴⁸ Students are learning attitudes in this situation that have broad ramifications for school and society in general.

A second significant way schools facilitate the development of attitudes is through the kinds of textbook images that are presented to the students. The basic image presented is that of the superior successful blond "we" and the poor, unsuccessful, darker "they." In virtually all textbooks, even today, racial, cultural and ethnic differences are just not presented, or are treated very superficially.⁴⁹ Coverage of the culture of Black people is negligible. Again and again, texts play down or exclude those organizations and individuals whose views or methods are outside the bounds of that which the dominant white

⁴⁷Billy J. Paschal, "A Concerned Teacher Makes the Difference," The Arithmetic Teacher (March 13, 1966), p. 203.

⁴⁸Rist, p. 412.

⁴⁹"A Report on the Treatment of Minorities in Elementary School Textbooks," prepared for a Conference jointly sponsored by the Bower Park Club of the Emma Lazarus Federation of Jewish Women's Club and the Brooklyn Branch of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (May, 1961), mimeographed.

community judges to be acceptable means of dissent.⁵⁰ The child learns that when it comes to violence, black style is not acceptable, though the Civil War and particularly the American Revolution, are highly regarded as part of our tradition and culture. The difference, the child soon learns, is that these two cataclysmic events are discussed in terms of their effect on the lives of white society. He learns that only those areas are covered which have influenced the tastes and values of white America.⁵¹

A crucial attitude developed in the Black and working class child toward school is that in order to accept formal educational goals that involve mastering the material presented, they must devalue themselves. The black child is presented a picture of reality in which he does not exist. At the same time educators are insisting consciously or unconsciously, that black children be educated out of their blackness.

In addition to setting the stage for the development of students' attitudes, the system has attitudes toward students that directly reinforce that process. One of these attitudes, the underlying premise of compensatory education programs, carried to its logical extreme in Head Start, is that the 'disadvantaged' youngster does not take to schooling and come from a vast 'cultural wasteland.' Head Start proceeds to provide him with the pre-school experiences

⁵⁰ Knowles and Prewitt, p. 49.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 52.

thought necessary to develop the predisposition toward schooling that is needed for educational success.⁵² Somehow as a result of "culture of poverty" discussions, the 'middle class' has claimed for itself as exclusive characteristics a cluster of so-called 'values' ranging from such things as neatness, cleanliness, and orderliness to drives like motivation for success and ability to plan toward it.⁵³ A basic attitude of the system toward its ethnic youngsters is expressed in the following statement by Miriam Dann in "Teach Them Passivity:"

When a teacher comes into the school system, he is told that he must always be a model of middle class morality. He must always stifle anything which is 'Negro' or 'lower class' in the students. For example, when I want to discuss literature that deals with the environment of the student, I am told that this is highly inappropriate because the students might think that the language and people in the stories are 'all right.'⁵⁴

In another section, terms used to describe students in the literature on urban schools were discussed. It seems reasonable to conclude that these repeated characterizations are translated into attitudes of the system toward its students - all of which directly or indirectly influences the development of students' attitudes toward the system.

⁵²Gutek, p. 217.

⁵³Leacock, p. 210.

⁵⁴Miriam Dann, "Teach Them Passivity," in Richard Wisniewski, (Ed.), New Teachers in Urban Schools: An Inside View (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 130.

One significant factor for the student is his belief that the system has failed. This belief is manifested by his lack of opportunity to achieve success within its framework, by his judgment that something outside the system holds more relevance for him than anything within, or by his hostility toward it. The validity of these attitudes may be documented through the indices of student achievement, dropout rates and acts of vandalism, or other forms of hostility toward the system.⁵⁵

That the student is perceiving the educational system with increasing hostility is being demonstrated all too painfully. The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders showed a significant and prophetic relationship between education and rioting. In its survey of riot cities, it became evident that the typical riot participant was a high school dropout. Perhaps the most serious aspect of vandalism is the set of messages it conveys - that many students look upon the school as alien territory hostile to their ambitions and hopes, that the education which the system is attempting to provide lacks meaningfulness, and that they feel no pride in the edifices in which they spend most of their days.⁵⁶

One major study found that of all the variables measured in the survey, the attitudes of student interest in school, self-concept, and sense of

⁵⁵Riles, p. 164.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 173.

environmental control show the strongest relation to achievement.⁵⁷ To the extent that a pupil feels that he can reach a desired goal, to that extent will the pupil organize his activities toward reaching that goal and be willing to preserve goals in the face of obstacles. As we have seen, schools spend an inordinate amount of effort convincing a large number of students that they are not academically capable. Such students must devalue their role as students or else experience serious frustration. Efforts to get such students to value the role of high achiever are not likely to be very successful unless they learn that they have the ability to achieve at higher levels in school. This points to a final major consideration, that of values learned and aspiration levels that are nurtured by the schools.

Values and Aspiration Levels That Are Nurtured

Values form the core of a society's culture and the typical values of the society form its norms.⁵⁸ Kimball says that "values and value formation are a consequence of the activities of individuals within a social setting."⁵⁹ A value causes human behavior to move with a degree of consistency in certain directions. Values cause predictability in human behavior. They are the

⁵⁷ Coleman, p. 319.

⁵⁸ Patricia Sexton, The American School: A Sociological Approach (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967), p. 76.

⁵⁹ Selon T. Kimball, "Individualism and the Formation of Values," The Journal of Applied Science, II, No. 4, (October-November-December, 1966), p. 480.

learned commands which, once internalized, coerce human behavior in specific directions.⁶⁰ Two additional points are significant: one, ". . . a value is an internalized set of principles derived from past experience,"⁶¹ and two, values are restraining forces upon an individual. Consciously or unconsciously, they cause self-imposed evaluation and kinds of self-inhibition and restraint.⁶²

The values and norms of the society are presumably taught by schools to the young through the socialization process, which shapes the behavior and personality of the individual.⁶³ The significance of this for the black child has to do with the setting (the school) in which value formation occurs and those (the teachers) who influence that process, thereby affecting how successful the student is in preparing to order and deal with his world in terms of his society's logic and perception of reality.

There are a myriad of ways in which values are taught or caught in the classroom - through the kinds of textbook images that are held up for children to emulate, through the role models that are available to the child, through his ability or inability to relate to the literature he is required to read daily, through the respect that the teacher shows for the child, his parents, his

⁶⁰Chrys Argyris. "T-Groups for Organizational Effectiveness," Harvard Business Review (March-April), p. 61.

⁶¹Otakar Machotka, The Unconscious In Social Relations (New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1964), p. 221.

⁶²Phillip E. Jacob and James J. Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision Making," American Behavioral Scientist Supplement (May, 1962), p. 16.

⁶³Sexton, The American School, p. 77.

community and the world as he sees it. Value formation occurs when the teacher recognizes or fails to recognize the special skills and talents which the child of the ghetto inevitably brings to the classroom with him, and the way in which the teacher reacts to those skills, talents, sensitivities, and characteristics.

Values are also learned from the experience the child has in the classroom, if it be positive or negative, if he experiences success or failure. This is extremely significant since success generally leads to a rising of the level of aspiration and failure to lowering the aspiration level.⁶⁴

The values learned by the Black youth and the aspiration level nurtured seem best summed up by the following statement from Haryou:

Young people in the ghetto are aware of the fact that other human beings have been taught to read, are prepared for college, and are able to compete successfully for white collar, managerial, and eventually executive positions. Their appraisal of their own predicament of inferiority and ineffectiveness occurs within the context of the knowledge that others are not similarly disadvantaged. Whatever accommodations they must make to the negative realities which dominate their own lines, they are required to make them with the conscious or unconscious awareness that this should not be the fate of mankind, that this is a personal disadvantage, or disability, which they share with others of similar skin color who are in a similar predicament of powerlessness.⁶⁵

⁶⁴I. L. Child and J. W. M. Whiting, "Determinants of Level of Aspiration: Evidence from Everyday Life," in H. Brand, Ed., The Study of Personality (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1954), p. 508.

⁶⁵Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, p. 13.

Conclusion

Racism in American education has been analyzed in this chapter in terms of the traditional goals of American schools. Viewed through this screen, the institutional and individual ways in which racism circumscribe the education of Black people becomes apparent.

An attempt to ascertain what educators stated as being the major goals of American education found no attention, study, or expression of concern about racism as an issue to be dealt with through education, in a direct or even peripheral way. An examination of the goal of education as a vehicle for social mobility led to an analysis of the socialization function of the school, and how this functions vis a vis Black people. The evidence presented leads to the conclusion that the traditional goals of American education have been non-functional for Blacks.

A second set of goals, although somewhat blurred, seem to be guiding principles, sometimes consciously (*de jure*) and frequently unconsciously (*de facto*) of the schools in their relation to Black people. Generally, that set of goals has served to maintain and perpetuate caste differentiation in society. It appears that the schools continue to serve the goals, needs, and interests of society at large and aid in the maintenance of America's color caste system.

CHAPTER 11

CUETEP AND SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Clearly, racism has contradicted and denied the goals of American education as they have been traditionally defined. The bleak situation of urban schools is the most obvious result of that racism. The crucial question facing educators and trainers of teachers is simple. Can they do more than to identify and to write about the problem of racism? What can be done for the millions of poor and minority children who are the victims and survivors of that systematic oppression?

Educators, concerned about the critically inadequate teaching of urban schools, have characteristically devised programs to remake ghetto schools in the image of currently 'advantaged' suburban schools. They have called for more playgrounds in the city. They have urged publishers to incorporate pictures and occasional stories of black children in their textbooks. They have urged a lower pupil to teacher ratio in inner-city classrooms. They have urged a Head Start program, a Follow Through program, and other compensatory programs. English has been taught as a second language, culture has been enriched, and special community aides have been added to school staffs.

The emphasis has repeatedly been placed on somehow transforming ghetto children into black reflections of middle class suburban children. The

names of the special programs have too often indicated that concern for compensating for supposed cultural disadvantages. For example, New York had its Higher Horizon schools; Kansas City had its Operation Upgrade; and many colleges have sponsored Upward Bound. The problem has been less with the good intention of the programs to provide an equal opportunity than with their unfortunate penchant for placing the responsibility for the problem on the victims of racism.

Rarely have American educators seriously held teachers responsible, despite the finding of the Coleman report that the teacher is the most important variable for ghetto children. As Kenneth Clark has said again and again, the secret for changing urban schools is no more and no less than holding urban teachers accountable for teaching black children as well as white. Further, most urban schools have at least one teacher who demonstrates that the problem does not lie with the children.

Furthermore, while large numbers of urban children have failed to learn from their classroom teachers, they have succeeded in learning from each other in the street. As sensitive observers have noticed, most children in urban schools who are labelled mentally retarded and placed in special classrooms do not appear retarded at all after school is dismissed.¹ The children possess two secrets of successful teaching. They believe their peers can learn, and they

¹See for example, John P. Delancy, "Special Education in Urban Schools," (School of Education, University of Massachusetts), an unpublished dissertation.

know how to begin where pupils really are. Those who would reform urban schools have not learned from the children themselves that teaching is not that difficult if one believes it is possible.

Urban school children have not learned because their teachers are inadequately prepared to teach them. Many teachers have failed because they (1) have authoritarian and positive attitudes (2) lack sensitivity to poor and minority children and their parents, (3) persist in old teaching practices and inappropriate standards, (4) hold middle class outlooks which prevent effective communications and understandings between teachers and pupils. Those problems are summed up in a lack of faith in the ability of urban children to learn.

As Waddles and Robinson indicated, teaching in an inner city school can be one of the "hippest" experiences an educator can have or one of the most devastating.² U. S. Commissioner of Education, Dr. Harold Howe, testified that many teachers are unprepared for teaching in schools serving disadvantaged children, and "have a traumatic experience there and don't last." These well intentioned, but inadequately prepared teachers are still entering classrooms; and there meeting situations which because of the inadequacy of the preparation, leave the teacher as well as the pupils "victims in a disaster area."³

A beginning white teacher has commented on the failure of her training to prepare her for the first day of class:

² Stone and Schneider, (Eds.). Teaching In the Inner City. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), p. 280.

³ Harold Howe, Kenneth Clark, et al., Racism and American Education. (New York: Random House, Vintage, 1970), p. 39.

The room was crowded, hot and sticky with high-pitched voices of constantly talking students. To get over to the counselor's office I had to pass through a myriad of students. . . All of a sudden, I felt real panic inside. I was very much aware that at that moment I was the only white person in a room filled with 200 strange faces. I had never been in a place with so many colored people, let alone in the minority. I thought I would suffocate or faint.⁴

Experienced teachers offered no more hope for urban children. One teacher in Central Harlem commented that she would at least ". . . come to school every day and try to give my children the stability of being myself regularly there. So many teachers don't do this and I think it is bad for the children not to be able to depend on the teacher." When present, too many teachers concentrated their efforts on discipline and punishment. Another Harlem teacher reported, "The children are not taught anything, they are just slapped around and nobody bothers to do anything about it."⁵

Teacher preparation programs must be carefully examined and revised if the educational deterioration currently taking place in our urban centers is to be reversed. Clearly, traditional ways of teaching will not suffice in ghetto schools: teachers must be pupil oriented, not subject matter enslaved. Trust is imperative. Teaching inner city children requires utmost honesty - students quickly spot hypocrites and dismiss them. Urban youths respect teachers who

⁴R. Chapman, "Teaching is Also Learning," The Bulletin of Secondary School Principals, (October, 1968), p. 23.

⁵Youth In the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., (New York: Oran Press, 1964), p. 230.

respect them. Teachers must have faith in the ability of the child to learn, for changes in school achievement will occur only when the norms of the school are modified so that all persons with whom the student interacts believe he can learn.⁶

Research has shown that children rarely exceed the expectation level of their teachers, so it is devastating for children in urban areas to have teachers who have a low expectation level for their learning. In fact, minority children with adequate intellectual endowment may do poorly in school simply because they have been made to view themselves as stupid. Sensible changes in teaching method must be developed to help urban students form positive attitudes toward school and toward themselves; for if the student is led to believe that he is capable and able to achieve well, he will gear his behavior accordingly.⁷ That is, maintaining his status and self esteem becomes the incentive for further effort on the part of the student which involves him more in the reward system of the school.

In addition, teachers must refrain from the kind of value judgments and authority which makes black and poor children discard and repudiate their backgrounds as a pre-requisite to learning. Teachers must also recognize that what is taught reflects, consciously or unconsciously, the teacher's concept of

⁶ Wilbur B. Brookover and Edsel L. Erickson, Society, Schools and Learning. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1969), p. 95.

⁷ R. H. Coombs and V. Davies, "Self-Conception and the Relationship Between High School and College Scholastic Achievement," Sociology and Social Research, July, 1966, p. 468.

the good life, the good man, the good society. Teachers have traditionally been the central carriers of the culture of our society. They must now re-define that role which has been essentially dysfunctional for the success of ghetto youth. They must recognize that for the black child to be motivated to achieve in schools, schools must create an illusion in children that they can learn, and will succeed.

Schools of Education should be able to do more than write about the state of education in urban schools. They need to re-examine their preparation of teachers for inner city schools. Nearly all special programs for urban education which were developed during the 1960's involved basically an extended clinical experience in urban schools.⁸ Unfortunately, they combined the practicum experience with course work which discussed urban children as culturally disadvantaged. Many interns in the newly developed programs to train teachers for urban schools, found themselves unable to cope with students in inner city schools. The programs in effect, served to confirm for these interns that these students were different, somehow strange, and in fact had 'deficiencies' which prevented their responding to the efforts of the schools.

Existing programs simply failed to treat racism as a central concern. Student interns need to learn how to survive in schools which perpetuate racial

⁸ See "Urban Teacher Preparation Programs During the 1960's," a position paper developed by Charles P. Proctor at the Center for Urban Education, University of Massachusetts, (April, 1972).

behaviors and to recognize where the responsibility lies. No prospective teacher should blame children for their adaptations to an oppressive society and indifferent teachers.

This chapter details a teacher education program designed specifically to prepare teachers for the inner city, the Center for Urban Education Teacher Education Program (CUETEP) developed at the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts. An outline of the program will be presented and the total program discussed in brief. Emphasis will be given to Survival Strategies, that component of the program which aims at the development of those knowledges, skills, understandings and strategies for success (success being defined in terms of pupils) as teachers in urban schools.

The School of Education at the University of Massachusetts has succeeded in creating a climate where individuals, faculty and students can examine issues and problems of urban education, the issues of institutional racism and can use the mechanisms of the institution to begin addressing those issues. The School of Education has established a number of strong commitments: (1) improving urban education, (2) combatting institutional racism, (3) social change through education, (4) seeking alternatives for effective education, (5) exploration, experimentation and evaluation, and (6) allowing the freedom to fail. Those commitments were intended to encourage the exploration of issues that leads to the development of plans for change.⁹

⁹ Catalogue for the School of Education, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1971.

Through the exploration of the problems of urban education, and the issue of institutional racism, it has been determined that one of the most significant factors is the quality of teachers in urban schools. Big city school administrators articulated the compelling need for teachers adequately prepared to handle the complexities of teaching in an urban school and who are sensitive to and are prepared to deal with the problem of racism. The focal point for that aim has been a teacher education program run by the Center for Urban Education (CUETEP).

CUETEP provided a total program designed specifically to prepare teachers for urban schools. In addition to other, more traditional aims of teacher education programs, two considerations were outstanding in the development of CUETEP. First, the best and perhaps only way to prepare teachers for inner city schools is through praeticum experience which is designed to provide reality based learning on which to build theories of teaching and develop methods which are effective in urban schools. Second, the need to prepare teachers who have knowledge and understanding of racism, who have individual sensitivity and awareness of the institutional forms that white racism takes, and who have skills in dealing with racism as a teacher in the classroom.

A crucial influence in the development of CUETEP has been the success of Career Opportunities Programs run by the Center for Urban Education, on site in Springfield and Worcester, Massachusetts and in Brooklyn, New York. Paraprofessionals in these programs bring to the classroom a level of

motivation, a degree of awareness and empathy for children that creates an expectation of success for students. The teacher aides, coming from the community in which the students live have been able to establish and maintain a high standard of performance as classroom teachers. Their success has encouraged a commitment to offer as good a program for regularly enrolled fulltime students on the Amherst campus.¹⁰

On the basis of previous experience in inner city schools of the instructional staff and the fresh experience with the Career Opportunities Programs, CUETEP has established a number of specific goals for its training program.

Teachers for inner city schools need special sensitivity to and understanding of the cultural background and life styles of inner city children. A teacher should understand that the language style anticipated by the school system is not the only "correct" language style or pattern for communication, that different styles are correct for different situations. A teacher's job is not to eliminate the communication style that the pupil brings to the classroom (which indeed may be the most appropriate for settings within his community), but should provide the framework for the acquisition of that style of communication that is appropriate for formal situations such as the classroom.

¹⁰ For a description of Career Opportunities Programs, see Bobby F. Gentry, "Differentiated Staffing In Urban Schools," (School of Education, University of Massachusetts, March, 1970), an unpublished dissertation.

Teachers for the inner city should have positive attitudes toward teaching the urban child based on an understanding and respect for his world rather than attitudes based on the missionary zeal that is characteristic of many would-be urban reformers. Teachers must start with where their students are rather than where teachers imagine they should be.¹¹

Teachers need a firm set of values rooted in such basic beliefs as the dignity and worth of the individual, and the strength of a diversified society. Those values can sustain them in difficult situations and permit teachers to recognize the "middle class value conflict" and differentiate that from the act of devaluing the experience and world of urban children. Discipline and grading depend upon a firm and fair direction from the teacher.

Teachers for the inner city must develop leadership styles and teaching methods emanating from their knowledge about learning rather than learning specific and particular teaching methods which have less probability of meeting criteria of effectiveness. Prospective change agents for urban schools must not be tied to specific modes which should become inappropriate as soon as they succeed.¹²

Teachers for the inner city should have broad inter-racial experiences including knowledge and understanding of the civil rights movement and

¹¹ Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1965), p. 79.

¹² Atron Gentry, Byrd Jones, et al., Urban Education: The Hope Factor, (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1972), p. 34.

minority group history and culture. Part of his training should lead to the development of human relations skills. This training would include clinical experiences in urban schools and community organizations that provide the personal experience pre-requisites to understanding the urban child and the many variables that influence his learning process.

Further, teachers for the urban school must be given the training that leads to the cultivation of "sociological imagination." That is, prospective teachers must understand what the schools are now, how they are now, but must also have some vision of what schools may become, and how they may be re-formed through strategies that can be applied within the present system. The change strategies would be based on a clear understanding of alternatives to the system.

Urban educators should recognize and know how to facilitate changes in racist attitudes. An example of the type of understanding necessary on an individual level includes being able to recognize teacher behavior patterns in the classroom which contribute to the perpetuation of racism and those which assist in the elimination of racism. On the institutional level, teachers should be able to recognize the ways in which schools, the curriculum of schools, and the bureaucracy effect them in school experience of minority youngsters in a fundamentally racist way.

The intern who recognizes that a teacher is behaving in a racist way in the classroom toward minority group children should be able to behave in a

way that does not make the racial distinctions that the teacher makes. At the first level of facilitating change, it is important that new teachers and interns in the program be able to demonstrate less racist behaviors. In many respects, this is more valuable than a frontal attack on the system because it creates a sense of positive direction for change.

Program Components

The total program consists of a series of courses, modular and practicum experiences aimed at accomplishing these and other objectives. Broadly stated, the primary goal of CUETEP is to prepare teachers who, in addition to having concepts and skills related to theories of learning, will respond to the work experience positively and be able to continue their professional development as a teacher in an urban school. The four primary components in the programs are (a) pre-practicum, (b) internship, (c) externship and (d) second practicum.

Pre-practicum

The course, Introduction to Urban Education, has served as the primary entry point into the program. In this course, program participants become familiar with the major literature on urban schools and study key issues, innovations and problems relating to urban schools. A primary aim of this course is to provide information, background, and experiences so that the participant can make an informed decision regarding his own interest, and capability for preparing to teach in an urban school. Students may then choose

from a variety of offerings in educational psychology, adolescent, child and developmental psychology. The course in Survival Strategies then becomes the major pre-practicum experience for participants in CUETEP.

Internship

Students will intern in groups of five to fifteen in each city. Those numbers allow for an efficient use of resources as well as a sense of shared experience among interns. Participants usually live in the area in which they are practice teaching. They are encouraged to take part in community activities, to develop in and out of school relations with students and their families. Interns are encouraged to learn about the specific issues in their community which are opposed and supported by the minority community.

Through the use of a system of sending instructional teams to each intern site, students were assisted in the development of skills and teaching methods for different kinds of instructional situations, e.g., small groups, laboratories and large group instruction. Efforts were made to respond to the specific needs of interns in the specific schools in which they were located.

Externship

After internship, students will return to campus for one to three semesters of follow-up exercises. A primary experience, currently being designed, will be a six-credit Evaluation Seminar. Students will evaluate their individual strengths and weaknesses and will identify problem areas and needs

in skills, knowledge and training. Students with similar needs will work in small groups with faculty and doctoral students in independent work to analyze needs and further develop skills.

Second Practicum Experience.

Near the completion of the two year program, students will be encouraged to engage in a second practicum experience that will combine with a seminar in curriculum development. This experience will be of shorter duration and students will not necessarily be living in the area. This part of the program will focus on the student's specific vocational plans.

Survival Strategies' interconnection with total program

Survival Strategies is the major prepracticum experience in CUETEP. This course aims at preparing participants to maximize learnings during the internship. The course includes a series of workshops, seminars and pre-practicum experiences designed to provide the intern with some strategies for success as the internship is completed. The course is structured to lay the basis for the continued development and refinement of skills, knowledge, and understandings requisite for success in urban schools.

Some generalizations on which the course is based with and implied statement of goals are:

1. Specific skills and sensitivities are needed by the urban school teacher in classroom management.

2. To be effective in the urban classroom, the teacher should have knowledge and understanding of the history, culture and language and speaking styles of black, Puerto Rican and other minority groups.
3. Prospective teachers should view the elimination of racism as a part of their role as teacher.
4. Teachers for urban schools should have a degree of sociological imagination for survival in an urban school.
5. Society cannot continue to tolerate institutional and individual behaviors that categorize, discriminate and relegate to inferior and second status roles, individuals on the basis of their race, sex or religion and ethnic background.
6. Inter-racial and cross cultural experiences are a necessary part of the training for any teacher. Prospective teachers should have experienced the pain of failure and the joy of success in bridging those social barriers.
7. Understanding the learning problems and processes of the urban child are necessary to be successful in the urban classroom.
8. The teacher of quality for any school must have:
 - a. an honest insight into self.
 - b. an awareness of the impact of self on other people.
 - c. an increased sensitivity to the feelings of others.
 - d. a better understanding of the behavior of others.
 - e. an understanding of the forces that operate in a group.
 - f. an understanding of the effectiveness of the student as a group member.
 - g. an understanding of and use of organizational effectiveness, motivation, leadership and managing change.
 - h. the ability to communicate creatively, accurately, frankly, freely, fully and effectively.
 - i. the courage to experiment, to disagree, and to receive criticism.
 - j. a thorough knowledge of the subject matter.

Organizing the Course

Survival Strategies was first introduced as a course during the fall semester of the 1971-72 school year. The first semester, the course was structured much the same as other university classes with four major modules. This course is based on the notion that special skills and sensitivities are needed of the teacher if he is to survive and have a success experience in an urban school. Through this course, prospective teachers will begin to delineate some of the special skills, knowledges, attitudes, and understandings that teachers for urban schools must have, and will begin to devise ways of developing and arriving at these. The course will consist of four modularized units, varying in length according to the teacher trainee, but of approximately four weeks in duration.

Module one - The Sociology of the Urban School. Participants will complete a case study of one urban school system. They will collect data through readings (books, articles and other relevant materials), interviews, and personal observation. The study will encompass the structure and organization of the system being focused on, and will examine the economics, politics, and racial practices of that system. Participants will examine the types of attitudes concerning the nature of the learning process, the psychology of the learners in evidence in the school system as well as the types and quality of learning opportunities made available to the various types of learners.

Module two - The Socialization Process of the Classroom. Participants will engage in readings, discussions and other activities aimed at developing

knowledge and understanding of the socialization process of the classroom and particularly that of the urban classroom. Activities which deal with what values are being taught and what will comprise a major section of this module as students seek to know and understand more of the hidden curriculum that permeates every school and classroom. Participants will engage in a process of identifying teaching methods which develop attitudes and values consistent with their philosophy of education.

Module three - Teaching in the Affective Domain. Participants will study techniques and methods of humanizing the curriculum, and dealing with classroom activities and experiences on the affective level. Activities designed to cause participants to examine their own attitudes, values and behaviors in terms of their potential effect on students will be included. Role playing exercises simulating possible classroom situations will permit students to develop strategies for changing potentially negative situations into a positive learning experience in the classroom.

Module four - Racism and Teacher Education. Two series of activities will be included in this module. One, participants will engage in identifying and defining teacher behaviors which contribute to the perpetuation of racism and those that combat racism. The second series will involve identifying and examining the ways that racism manifests itself in curriculum, school structures and organization, patterns of hiring and promotions in school systems.

Allocation of resources and in other forms.

To complete the requirements for module one, the class developed an "Outline for the Study of an Urban School System," (See Appendix A). The class selected four major urban school systems, Springfield and Boston, Massachusetts, Brooklyn, New York and Washington, D. C., for study, and formed study groups. The groups then planned a procedure for collecting the information and developing a design for sharing the data collected with the remainder of the class. The groups compiled a list of books and periodicals which would be used to gather the required data and planned a series of visits to the schools in the system under study and interviews with school and administration officials. Other materials developed by the class in conjunction with Modules two, three and four are included in the appendix. They include questions on philosophy of education, providing positive reinforcement, cultural diversity, role definition and communication. A second series of materials show student's efforts to identify techniques for Behavior Modification, a new vocabulary for teachers and a new behavior style for teachers. The new vocabulary for teachers included terms teachers should use with and about students and terms teachers should not use with and about students. A New Behavior Style for Teachers included positive teacher behaviors, and negative teacher behaviors.

Second Semester

For the second semester, the course underwent intensive analysis in terms of the aims of the course, the goals of the program and the type of

organization and structure that would best serve these purposes. It was recognized that all teacher trainees did not have the same needs, vis a vis the course, and also that the same types of learning activities did not yield the results desired for all participants. The need for differentiated participation in course activities as well as for diversity and flexibility in the types of learning opportunities available to participants was apparent.

In light of this, the course was completely modularized to facilitate offering a variety of learning activities for participants, and also to provide opportunities for those ready to engage in advanced study in the area of urban teacher training to do so. The basic overall purpose of the course remained the same, to lay the basis for the continued development and refinement of skills, knowledge, and understandings that are a pre-requisite for successful teaching in urban schools. Success continued to be defined in pupil oriented terms.

A series of core offerings were listed in five general categories:

- I. The Sociology of Urban Schools
- II. Strength Training
- III. The Sociology of the Urban Classroom
- IV. Racism and the Urban Teacher
- V. A Multi-Cultural Society

The sociology of urban schools will be studied through a series of on-site visits to urban schools and other institutions. Participants will begin with

a visit to the Monson State Hospital in Palmer, Massachusetts and will then visit schools in Boston, Springfield and Worcester, Massachusetts, and will also visit schools and talk with administrators in Paterson, New Jersey, and Brooklyn, New York. A description and general objectives for each module of this series will follow.

Strength Training encompassed a series of modules on micro-teaching, group and interpersonal dynamics in the classroom, self-evaluation as teacher through a system of interaction analysis and strength training. The sociology of the urban classroom included modules relating to teacher expectations and pupil performance, values and the urban classroom "the hidden curriculum" of the classroom and the socialization process of the urban classroom.

The module on Teacher Behavior Patterns and Racism seek to identify teacher behavior patterns that either assist in the elimination of racism or contribute to the perpetuation of racism. There is much research and literature related to behavior in the classroom but none which attempts to specify teacher behavior in the context of racism. One of the major assumptions on which this module is based is that if such behaviors can be identified at the level of specificity of the micro-teaching program, then a similar program could be instituted to help prospective teachers develop those behaviors considered positive and study and examine those considered negative. The first step in this process was the identification of these behaviors, (see Appendix A).

The second step was an attempt to operationalize the behaviors identified

using a technique called "The Operationalization of Fuzzy Concepts," an instrument developed by Dr. Thomas Hutchinson at the University of Massachusetts. This process involves taking a concept such as "Being open to understand students" and stating specific behaviors to be demonstrated that would indicate "Being open to understand students." The results of these workshops are available to other teacher preparation programs with the recommendation that they be included in programs to train teachers for all schools.

The second module on Racism and the Teacher, aims at providing an in-depth experience for prospective teachers in identifying, defining, and developing ways of dealing with racism on an institutional and individual level. This module is developed as a workshop away from the campus and seeks to provide an intensive, personalized learning experience for the participants.

A multi-cultural society seeks to acquaint participants, on a personal level, with the varied ethnic, racial and cultural groups which make up American society. This series of modular seeks to fulfill the course objectives aimed at the participant developing knowledge and understanding of the history, culture, language and speaking styles of black, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Asian American and other minority groups.

Unit on Racism

A primary aim of CUETEP is to prepare teachers who have knowledge and understanding of racism in its individual and institutional forms, and who have skills in dealing with racism as a teacher in the classroom. To achieve

this goal, units dealing with racism are included in each program component. There are two major modules in Survival Strategies dealing with the issue of racism: Teacher Behavior Patterns and Racism, and, Racism and the Teacher.

The strategy for dealing with racism is operant on two levels. On one level, introducing the topic of racism and talking about it encouraged students to recognize and discuss its existence. On another level, the program as well as the modules function well because of the diversity of the staff. Ultimately, the process of changing attitudes about racism does not depend on learning from books, but creating a sense among a diverse group of people that they can work together.

The facts of poverty and of oppressive city schools are the problem of basic racist attitudes which undergird all of this. Clark reminded his fellow experts about the difficulty of calling the state of urban schools by its right name: "the quality problem. . . is actually the inferior quality and performance in education for lower status children, reflecting racist realities and expectations and the use of the educational system to perpetuate this reality."¹³

The ultimate irony of the literature on racism and discrimination is that it has reaffirmed the insight of Thomas Jefferson that equality is a necessary condition for a democratic society. As Thomas Pettigrew has pointed out in his recent testimony before Congress, "a vast body of social science research shows

¹³ Harold Howe, et al., Racism and American Education, (New York: Vintage, 1970), p. 51.

that inter-racial acceptance is most easily generated in any institution, educational or otherwise, when the two groups share equal status in the situation and work for common goals."¹⁴

Only when a non-racist situation exists - where various races work together to improve their lives and their society without hierarchies based on racial stereotypes - can an equitable participation in the life of this society occur. Meaningful participation in the institutions of society requires an end to racism. The point is almost too logical and too simple to be grasped. More study of existing conditions can do little more than reveal further evidence of white racism, because that is the American way of life. If students can develop a sense, however, that the existing institutional patterns need not prevail and can come to feel that their efforts can make a difference, one step toward developing a solution to the problem of racism will have been taken.

The Course Participants

Students who enrolled in the course for the second semester proved to be an astonishingly diverse group. Students have ranged from a commonwealth scholar which is a universitywide honor program, to students who have not yet found out what they propose to be about at the university or in life. By the second semester, the program had begun to identify those interested in teaching in urban schools, yet the diversity of background prevailed.

¹⁴Thomas F. Pettigrew, Racially Separate or Together, (New York: McGraw Hill, 1971), pp. 297-298.

Generally, students showed a willingness to accept the idea that individuals should be responsible for themselves. At this point, students were willing to behave as though they could manage their own affairs, and were sometimes surprisingly willing to go and try something. A second major characteristic of course participants seemed to be a shared commitment to improving urban schools. Though some of the participants were obviously missionary types, these students generally seem to choose out of the programs before the time of internship. The great majority of the students share notions about urban schools rooted in reality and practically everyone shared an eagerness to learn.

At the first class meeting, a questionnaire was administered to all participants in Survival Strategies in order to identify the background of the class population and find out the types of understandings and attitudes the participants held about their prospective role as urban students, teaching in urban schools. Participants were asked to respond to a series of questions designed to provide information about the needs of participants.

The response to the questionnaire were varied, reflecting the diversity of backgrounds and experiences of the course participants. The first questions were 'who are you?' and 'where do you come from?' Though some students described themselves in terms of some life goal or some notions about life that are directing and informing their actions now. The most frequent response related to a desire to teach in an urban school and to change things which need

changing and emphasizing those positive things that are happening there. Some responses referred to a more global desire to help mankind live with himself and to help create a better society.

On the question of 'where do you come from?' many students responded in terms describing a geographical area. Some students however, responded in terms of the life experiences that have made them. One student said 'I come from. . . [a] black colony. . . in [the] United States,' and another said from 'that fortress of social stagnation - white, middle class, narrow-minded America.' The responses to the questions 'why are you in urban education?' and 'why do you wish to teach in an urban school?' were surprisingly consistent. Those who indicated that they had gone to school in an urban area were motivated by a desire to see other students get a better deal than they got. Those who did not come from an urban community were likewise motivated by a desire to 'change some of the rules that gave. . . a horrible education,' and because 'urban schools are in need of better and innovative educators.'

In order to learn more about the views participants held about teaching and learning, participants were asked 'what is a teacher?' Responses showed a level of understanding that holds promise for their potential as teachers. Teacher, was referred to as 'one who assists the natural growth for knowledge,' 'one who facilitates learning by trying to interact with his students.' Terms like 'supporter,' 'friend,' 'open-minded,' and 'capable of motivating,' were consistently used throughout the responses. One student's response 'I like

varied people, " seemed to express a sentiment prevalent in the group.

Use of Other Resources

In addition to the core modular offerings, other learning opportunities were available to participants in the course. These included modules that were developed to address specific needs articulated in the course as well as other offerings available in the school (a) seminars with Allard Lowenstein on problems and issues in urban education, (b) seminars with Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi on Racism and American Society, (c) a series of seminars in human relations related to education of the self, and other seminars that become available in the school. Structuring the flexibility necessary to permit program participants to take advantage of these offerings became an important consideration of the course. This flexibility was crucial in allowing the development and participation in such activities as the Springfield Experiment.

A major modular activity involving twenty of the course participants in an on-site experience in a school in the Springfield, Massachusetts public school system was developed during the course of the semester, though not originally planned as a unit in the course. The Center for Humanistic Education planned a three day workshop for a group of teachers from the Van Sickie Junior High School. An interest was expressed in having teacher trainees from Survival Strategies take over the classes of the teachers participating in the workshop for the three days that these teachers would be on campus.

After considerable discussion, the decision was made to make this opportunity available on a selective basis to members of Survival Strategies, if adequate, experienced supervision and the pre and post workshops necessary to make this a truly profitable experience could be arranged.

A two hour workshop for participants in the Springfield Experiment was conducted by Survival Strategies Course facilitators in conjunction with staff from the Center for Humanistic Education. The primary goals of the workshop were: (a) to establish a sense of group unity and shared experience among participants, (b) to attain a state of psychological readiness for the experiment, (c) to provide background information on the school, the staff, the students, the administration and the community, (d) to review and discuss classroom strategies and techniques, (e) to compare characteristics of a 'desegregated' school with those of an 'integrated' school and discuss implications for classroom social climate and learning environment, and (f) to discuss questions and problems raised by the participants.

The fifteen Survival Strategies 'interns' met with the principal of the school and the teachers whose classrooms they would intern in for the week on Monday morning. The principal discussed the school community and its effects on philosophy and practices of the school. The school community was characterized as middle and lower middle income white with residents opposed to integration. The student population of the school is two-thirds white with approximately one-third of the students bused into the school from Springfield's

black community. The black students were viewed as being treated as 'outsiders' by other students, and by the teachers. Efforts were being made by the administration to 'integrate' the black students into the life and affairs of the school. Demands were being made by the white community residents to maintain a 'high standard' of education in the school and to maintain strict school and classroom 'discipline and control.' Demands were being made by parents of the black community to institute a 'more relevant' educational curriculum and school experience for students. Efforts were being made by the administration to bring parents, teachers and students together to develop guidelines, and make decisions on what would constitute a 'high standard,' and 'more relevant,' school experience and on what constitutes and how to effect 'discipline and control' in the school.

A dialogue group had been formed consisting of black and white student leaders. These students had been charged with discussing problems that occurred between the students and proposing solutions. They were also charged with anticipating problems that might arise and proposing strategies to avert tension situations.

The teachers whose classes the interns were going into were chosen from those who had volunteered to participate in the workshop "Classroom Climate and Learning' conducted by the Center for Humanistic Education at the University. These were teachers who were committed to 'improving the school experience for all of the students.' This discussion set the tone for

the interns participation in the school for the week.

The interns were assigned to the teachers whose class would teach during the experiment on Monday and Monday and Tuesday were spent in observation and discussion with the teachers.

Interns came to classes on Wednesday prepared to be 'the teacher' for Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Students were required to maintain a journal of their daily experience to provide data for a discussion of Survival Strategies for teachers.

A series of experiences provided by the interns provided input for Modules on Teacher Behavior Patterns and Racism; Inter-group dynamics in the classroom; Pupil-teacher Relationships in the Classroom, and others.

To facilitate both maximum and selective participation in the learning opportunities available to course participants, a counseling system was devised. Each teacher trainee was assigned to one of six course facilitators. The students then met in small groups with a facilitator counselor to discuss needs, participation in modules, and the effectiveness of modules in meeting the needs of the participant. Counseling is a crucial element in the development of any program, and many of the logistics of this system remain to be worked out.

Summary

Inadequately prepared teachers have been presented in this chapter as one of the major reasons for the poor achievement performance of many inner city pupils. After reviewing some of the literature documenting this assumption,

reasons for the lack of success of teachers in inner city schools were discussed. The recommendation was made for careful examination and revision of teacher training programs with a new definition of goals and with a new definition of teacher roles and terms to describe success.

The Center for Urban Education Teacher Education Program was offered as a model program designed specifically to prepare teachers for the inner city. The two major considerations on which CUETEP is based were discussed: (1) the importance of clinical experiences in preparing teachers for the inner city schools and (2) the importance of knowledge and understanding about racism, in both its individual and institutional forms as a basis for effective handling of the central pathology underlying the failure of urban schools.

The real success of the course should not be measured at the end of this semester nor indeed at the end of the internship semester. The immediate purpose is to enable students to survive and perform creditably during their semester of practical experience. But survival skills are important unless they provide an opportunity to develop and use strategies for improving urban schools. Students have to gain a sense of confidence in their understanding of themselves and the pressures confronting urban schools before they can develop confidence in their own ability to develop meaningful learning experiences for their own pupils.

The long run goal of the Center for Urban Education involve a two pronged attack. Better teachers can only function when they have supportive

administrators. Likewise, principals and other administrators who want to make inner city schools succeed need a pool of prospective teachers who have survival skills and desire to improve urban schools. Until both teachers and administrators want to change schools, teachers will have to survive and do the best they can in inner city classrooms.

The various components of the program were examined with detailed attention given to survival strategies inter-connection with the total program. Survival Strategies was offered as a course during the 1971-72 school year and the organization of the course for the first and second semester was examined. Prescriptive treatment was given to the modulization of the course which occurred during the second semester, for it is in that form that the course is presented in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER III

SURVIVAL STRATEGIES

Background for the development of the modules: Clarification of skills, sensitivities, and understandings the course seeks to accomplish.

In Chapter I, problems in racism and education were discussed. Chapter II delineated some of the reasons for teachers' lack of success in urban schools, and CUETEP was discussed as a model urban teacher training program. The major concern of this third chapter is that component of CUETEP which aims at the development of those skills, sensitivities, knowledges and understandings deemed necessary for success in urban schools. The major vehicle for that development is the modularized, pre-internship course, "Survival Strategies." To provide the background for the development of the modules, CUETEP uses those skills, sensitivities, knowledges, and understandings are clarified and specified based on the evidence presented in Chapters I and II.

The following are those attitudes, understandings, and skills needed for successful teaching in the inner city. Though these lists attempt to be definitive, it is understood that no teacher can be all things at all times. In fact, a given teacher may never be all of the things that are included in this listing. This explication is intended as a guide to direct interns and new teachers learning and growing as they prepare to become successful teachers in urban schools.

As one educator commented, "every teacher hates his kids at least one day out of the year." The aim is for honesty in relations with students and the establishment of a reasonable set of criteria by which to measure one's growth and progress.

Attitudes (sensitivities) for Teachers for the Inner City

1. Possess a strong self-image which reflects faith in himself
2. Understands himself so that he is aware of his own feelings, attitudes and motivation
3. Reflect personal qualities to which the children will respond
4. Display a sense of commitment to the inner city child
5. Reflect faith in the child's ability to learn
6. Be free from racial, social or economic prejudice
7. Possess a level of tolerance which permits open-mindedness
8. Being able to meet students on a person to person basis
9. Understanding the student from the students' point of view
10. Project an openness to the acceptance of differences of people
11. Display a respect for students
12. Display trust in students
13. Display a policy of honesty with students
14. Refrain from the kinds of value judgments which requires the minority child to give up his culture in order to learn
15. Provide a climate of support which makes the development

of a positive self-image possible

16. Project firmness and consistency, warmth and respect,
and flexibility

Understandings (knowledge) for Teachers for the Inner City

1. Understand the history of minority groups in the United States
2. Understand the Civil Rights movement
3. Understand the relationship between minority group membership
and low socio-economic status
4. Understand the culture patterns of various minority groups
5. Understand each child, his home and community situation
6. Understand the sociology of the neighborhood and its impact
on parents and students
7. Understand the cultural limitations of I. Q. tests with
minority group students
8. Understand how a child's abilities are assessed and come to a
realistic perception of what measurements describe and predict
9. Understand the role of expectations as they affect self-concept,
power, and connectedness
10. Understand kinds of learning and the conditions of learning
11. Understand how to plan for learning
12. Understand that the teachers' concept of the good life, of good
and bad, right and wrong is reflected in what is taught as

well as how it is taught

13. Understand that frequently the middle class outlook of the teaching force prevents effective communication with the parents and students
14. Understand the devaluing process that frequently occurs with students in urban classrooms

Skills for Teachers for the Inner City

1. Skill in basic diagnostic techniques and principles
2. Skill in individualizing instruction
3. Skill in utilizing existing skills, competences, attitudes and values of children
4. Skill in recognizing and utilizing special skills students develop in the course of their out-of-school lives
5. Skill in eliciting cues to students concern
6. Skill in developing techniques and content that help a child perceive himself and others accurately
7. Skill in developing instructional content relating to self identity
8. Skill in adapting and devising materials in terms of student readiness and background
9. Skill in handling aggression and violence
10. Skill in setting realistic expectations for children
11. Skill in handling aggression in positive ways

12. Skill in establishing a classroom environment which facilitates pupil motivation
13. Skill in working effectively with small groups
14. Skill in the use of individual and group interaction in instruction
15. Skill in providing constant encouragement and overcoming fear of failure
16. Skill in providing positive reinforcement
17. Skill in providing real success experiences for students
18. Skill in relating the lesson to the experience of the child
19. Skill in dramatizing learning
20. Skill in the teaching of language skills
21. Skill in fostering creative problem-solving
22. Skill in encouraging the kinds of questions which lead to further learning
23. Skill in using pupil ideas to extend thinking by combining pupils' statements and encouraging clarification
24. Skill in adjusting content and method to the needs of the students
25. Skill in developing learning activities which foster humanistic values
26. Skill in techniques of self evaluation
27. Skill in theories and technique for establishing rapport

28. Skill in theories and techniques of fostering creative potential
29. Skill in techniques in developing study skills, ability to take tests and follow directions
30. Skill in developing awareness of social responsibility
31. Skill in designing activities aimed at developing a sense of worth
32. Skill in interpersonal interaction
33. Skill in communication technique
34. Skill in sensing how a child feels about himself
35. Skill in assessing maturity levels of students from a base of child growth and development and organizing learning experiences based on the interests and needs of children
36. Skill in providing a kind of classroom atmosphere in which children enjoy their own improvement and appreciate the improvement of classmates
37. Skill in intragroup interaction
38. Skill in establishing an atmosphere which projects support, security, understanding, and empathy for the child
39. Skill in changing negative attitudes and self-concepts of children

The attitudes, understandings, and skills desired for effective inner-city teachers provide the background and frame of reference for the development of the course modules which make up "Survival Strategies." The modules that follow were developed for the 1971-72 school year.

Construction of the Modules

Each module is designed as a complete learning activity. Modules vary in length of time from several days to several weeks. Each module contains a set of objectives and a series of learning activities designed to obtain the stated objectives. Objectives are not stated in behavioral terms but are stated with a degree of specificity for the participant and the facilitator working with him to evaluate the performance of the participant and the degree to which objectives have been accomplished. The scope of each module is delineated in the module title and clarified in the statement of objectives. Sequencing of modules depends on the needs of participants, and the modules are designed to permit rearrangement and varied types of sequencing. A given module may be withdrawn if it is established that a participant has already met the objectives stated. Other modules may be substituted to meet a different set of needs articulated by the learner or ascertained by course facilitators. Most modules may be used independently of each other, though some are so closely inter-related that using them in sequence is appropriate.

Bibliographies For the Modules

It is admitted that no books are entirely satisfactory for training teachers for urban schools. First, it is learning from the experience of being in an urban classroom that counts in the end. Second, contemporary writers on urban education tend to focus on what is wrong with urban schools and urban children rather than what is good or how positive change can be achieved. One notable exception is a recent book, Urban Education: The Hope Factor by Atron Gentry, Byrd Jones (et. al.) (See Bibliographical Essay). In addition to providing a broad framework for amore positive future for urban education, this book includes some practical strategies for the urban classroom.

Other readings which were found useful included: The Autobiography of Malcolm X; Eleanor Leacock, Teaching and Learning In City Schools; Melvin Silberman, ed., The Experience of Schooling; Knowles and Prewitt, Institutional Racism in America; and Stone and Schneider, eds., Teaching in the Inner City (See Bibliographical Essay).

Module: On-Site Visits

Objectives:

1. Students will become familiar with the diversity of urban schools through visiting a variety of types of urban school situations.
2. Students will learn, through discussion with principals, teachers and students, some of the problems and processes

of teaching and learning in different urban schools.

3. Students will become involved in a self-initiated and developed experience working with students in an urban situation.
4. Students will become familiar, through direct observation, with some of the multiple roles that an urban teacher must perform.
5. Students will study some of the curriculum materials being used in the classrooms being visited and discuss their relevance or non-relevance to the students involved.

Activities:

1. Each class participant will visit the Monson State Hospital and participate in a Seminar Conducted by the Assistant Superintendent, Jeff Delaney. Participants may opt to be become involved in a long range project at Monson as part of the course.
2. Participants will visit "Sesame Street" in New York City and participate in a seminar with Loretta Long of "Sesame Street."
3. Participants will visit public schools in Brooklyn, New York to observe and talk with teacher trainers in the Career Opportunities program, and participate in a seminar with

the on-site COP project directors.

4. Participants will visit CUE interns in the field in one of the internship locations in Boston, Springfield, and Worcester, Massachusetts; Patterson, New Jersey, Brooklyn, New York; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
5. Participants will initiate and participate in an extended experience at a selected urban school and will design and operationalize a learning activity for a group of students.

Module: Strength Training

Objectives:

1. To become conscious of teacher behaviors and their effects upon students.
2. To expand (one's) repertoire of behaviors for relating to students in the classroom.
3. To develop skill in using student attitudes, feelings and experiences in creating a humanistic learning environment in the classroom.
4. To learn to use oneself effectively in carrying out one's purposes in the classroom.
5. To understand and refine the personal capacities the individual brings to the performance of his role as teacher.

6. To experiment with humanistic behaviors by trying on behaviors to be used in the classroom.
7. To develop a system for monitoring oneself and become an increasingly strong and sensitive teacher.
8. To compare one's 'real behavior' to his idealized self.
9. To evaluate one's own behavior in terms of effect on students and the kind of atmosphere created in the classroom.
10. To develop skill in responding to a stressful situation in a productive manner.
11. To develop skill in creating order and direction in the confused and potentially chaotic milieu of the classroom.

Activities:

1. Discuss the purpose of Strength Training.
2. Discuss the three part operation of the training situation:
role playing, feedback, role playing.
3. Training situations:

A trainee is asked to accomplish a teaching task in a simulated situation. Other members of the training group are asked to role-play the students of the teacher's class at whatever level the teacher chooses. The tasks are designed to be stressful in order to allow the trainee the opportunity to operate under pressure.

Tasks:

- A. Trainee is asked to introduce herself to class as if it were the first day of school. The trainee is asked to tell students what will be taught during the year and to establish the kind of atmosphere desired in the classroom.
 - B. The principal of the local high school called you this morning to ask you to take over Miss Jones' class. Here is Miss Jones' lesson plan; look it over for a few minutes and then come into this room and attempt to achieve the objective she has described.
 - C. Sometime during your regular lesson a bell will ring signaling a fire drill. When you hear the bell, please follow the school procedures for getting your students out of the building.
 - D. Prepare and deliver before the group a five-minute monologue in which you have included material that will get a laugh.
4. Feedback:
- The role players are instructed to respond to the teacher as "children" would react. They are told to ask themselves what they feel like doing as a result of the way in which their teacher is acting, and to do what their feelings dictate. The role-players

are continually reminded to respond to the teacher's actions as honestly and as completely as possible.

Categories of feedback:

- A. One word/or phrase ratings of teacher, e.g., "nervous," "cold," "unfriendly."
- B. Feelings of the students, e.g., "hostility," "cooperative," "desire to challenge the teachers."
- C. Behavior which characterize the subjects teaching performance, e.g., "Teacher did not look at individual students when she spoke to them."

5. Role of Facilitator:

- A. Give the trainee a comfortable vocabulary with which to talk about her own classroom behavior.
- B. Insure that feedback given to the trainee be understandable in the explicit context of present behaviors.
- C. Organize feedback so that the trainee is shown how her behaviors are affecting her students.
- D. Assist in finding an appropriate means for affecting behavior change.

6. Role-Playing II:

The trainee is afforded choices of behavior and is asked to devise and implement her own alternatives. A new behavior

is chosen and the trainee is offered the opportunity to try on the new behavior through another role play and to judge its effectiveness and appropriateness with other trainees.

Module: Microteaching

Objectives:

1. To introduce students to the concept of microteaching.
2. To educate students to the current and potential uses of microteaching.
3. To describe for students a comprehensive set of teaching skills.
4. To afford students the opportunity to participate in a microteaching clinic in which each student will concentrate on the development of several teaching skills.

Technical Skills to be Developed:

1. Establishing appropriate frames of reference.
2. Recognizing and obtaining attending behavior.
3. Providing feedback.
4. Employing rewards and punishments.
5. Teacher silence and non-verbal cues.
6. Completeness of communication.

Procedure:

To accomplish the above objectives, a two-day microteaching clinic was designed. This consisted of ~~four~~ 3-hour sessions, with each student required to attend two sessions. Students were required to select two sessions in sequence rather than random selection of labs in order to achieve continuity of experience.

Preparation:

Before coming to the clinic, students should do three things:

1. Read "microteaching" by Allen and Evc (Xeroxed).
2. Read "The Technical Skills of Teaching" (Xeroxed).
3. Prepare a 5-minute lesson of your choice, appropriate to any age group you wish.

Module: Interaction AnalysisObjectives:

1. To identify basic concepts and background for interaction analysis.
2. To develop skill in using Flanders' system of interaction analysis.
3. To investigate patterns of taped behavior in category of responses.
4. To list suggested matrix formation that will provide

positive results.

5. To develop skills in identifying responses by percentage order.
6. To develop skill in using this system to evaluate classroom teacher performance and as a vehicle to improve classroom teacher behaviors.

Activities:

1. Introduction, background, and basic concept of interaction analysis.
2. Taped session of practice and concepts.
3. Charting matrix, practiced role playing situations and identifying positive matrix.
4. Breaking down total percentages for outcomes and identifying results.

Module: Evaluating Your Performance in the Classroom as Teacher

Objectives:

1. To understand the need for continuous evaluation of one's classroom performance.
2. To develop criteria for self evaluation as a classroom teacher.

Activities:

1. Use role playing situations suggested in Module on Strength Training or others. Compare 'teacher' behavior exhibited in role playing to that suggested in trainees' (a) philosophy of education, (b) description of ideal classroom. Discuss any discrepancies that appeared. Use this as background for discussion on continual self-evaluation of classroom behaviors.
2. Develop criteria for self-evaluation similar to the examples given in these categories:
 - a. Racism
 - b. Providing positive reinforcement
 - c. Developing a positive self concept
 - d. Values taught/learned in the classroom
 - e. The socialization process of the classroom

Examples:

- a. The teacher must show maturity in self-control and judgment. Some types of evidence:
 1. The atmosphere of the class reflects the self control of the learning process.
 2. The teacher avoids sarcasm, nagging, and remains calm when confronted by frustration.

3. The teacher acts as arbiter when debates become heated.
 4. The teacher fails to prejudge, value judge, or permit his bias to take precedence over sound judgment based on new found facts by himself and students.
- b. The teacher provides opportunities for leadership development through student planning. Some types of evidence:
1. Teacher-student planning is in evidence in the classroom.
 2. Opportunities for student leadership and cooperation are in evidence.
 3. Teacher permits students to structure classes to fit their particular needs.
- c. The teacher fosters an attitude of mutual respect and tolerance. Some types of evidence:
1. Students exhibit respect for others by their actions and work.
 2. Students work together harmoniously.
 3. Opinion, concept, and culture differences are respected by teacher and peers.

Module: Teacher Behavior Patterns and Racism

Objectives:

1. The identification of teacher behavior patterns that contribute to the perpetuation of racism.
2. To identify behaviors that assist in the elimination of racism.
3. To suggest ways both types of behavior patterns can be dealt with in a teacher training program.

Definitions:

1. When teaching behavior promotes incidental learning that causes students to feel that one race is superior to another, has done more for mankind, is more civilized, has a language style superior to that of others, deserves better educational, economic, political and social opportunities, has higher values, better morals, is "more advanced," behavior that depreciates the worthiness of another race, then a racist pattern exists.
2. When teaching behavior promotes incidental learning that prepares students to be emotionally comfortable in a multi-racial society, that helps students to know and understand the prejudice and discrimination that denies equitable treatment to large numbers of people on the basis of race (and the inconsistency of this practice with what is known as the American ideal); that affirms that people of all races have the

same human needs, that no race is known to be superior in native intelligence to any other, and that racism is man's most dangerous myth; that heightens the learner's sense of the worthiness of various cultures and races and increases his knowledge of the history of all races - then a positive pattern exists which leads to the elimination of racism.

Activities:

1. Make a list of as many sets of teaching behavior patterns as you can identify.

e.g.: Teacher: What do you think we're going to do today?

Teacher: I'm thinking of a word. Can anyone tell me what the word is? It begins with "E."

2. Where possible, identify what incidental learnings might occur.

e.g.: See teacher behaviors listed in (a).

As a pupil in this class, I might learn: "My job is to guess what the teacher has in mind and then give him what he wants."

3. Where possible, identify source of behavior pattern.

e.g.: - from personal observation

- told to me by an administrator (pupil, parent, teacher, etc.)

- read in a book. - Goldhammer, Robert, Clinical

Supervision (Holt, Rinehart & Winston, N.Y.) 1969.

Module: Racism and the Teacher

Objectives:

1. To provide an in-depth experience for prospective teachers in identifying, defining and developing ways of dealing with racism, on an institutional as well as personal level.
2. To deal with racism from a variety of perspective (e.g., position power, crisis in white identity, situation introspection).
3. To develop a more personal awareness of racism.
4. To begin to deal with racism in various facets of American Education: in curriculum, teacher training, school structures, testing, and other areas.

Activities:

1. Incident Introspection: Participants examine their own ideas, values and prejudices.
2. Inventory of Racism: Develop skills in identifying acts and situations of racism (Refer to Al Ivey's "Taxonomy of Racism" School of Education, University of Massachusetts).
3. Crisis of White Identity: To enable white participants to develop a positive racial identification; to recognize that "whiteness" is for most whites primarily a matter of "non-blackness"; to assist participants in dealing with the guilt of recognizing the extent

of their involvement in racism and other forms of discrimination; and to recognize the causal relationship between the failure of a power group to establish for itself a positive identity and discrimination against a minority group (race, age, sex).

4. Assumptions Which Block Authentic Relationships
5. Money Simulation: Deals with power and relationship.
6. The First Step Exercise: Deals with attitudes and understandings which facilitate or impede group relationships, and the risks (perceived) involved in establishing new relationships.
7. Behaviors Which Facilitate Authentic Relationships.
8. Malcolm X: Participants are to state the direct forms of racism that Malcolm X encountered in his life (in 12 parts). Seminar Assignment: Read Malcolm X.
9. Situation Introspection: Participants will examine their reactions to given situations and analyze for racist tendencies.
10. Vocabulary Building: Participants become familiar with and broaden knowledge of certain terms currently in use in discussions of race and racism.
11. Curriculum Examination: To identify some examples of racism in school texts, either by omission or commission.

12. Brainstorming Session: Discuss failure of teacher training programs to deal with racism and identify specific ways teacher training programs can begin to prepare teachers to deal with racism.
13. Dove I. Q. Test: Participants will complete the Dove I. Q. test. After comparing I. Q. scores, discuss the inability of I. Q. tests to objectively measure individuals from all cultures and the damage done by school system's continued use of such instruments.
14. School Structures: Examine teacher assignment practices and resource allocation policies of various school systems.

Module: A Pan Ethnic Society

Objectives:

1. Knowledge and understanding of the history and culture of minority groups in the United States.
2. Understanding the nature and impact of prejudice and the means for combatting it.
3. Understand the life styles of various minority groups and their relationship to learning.
4. To gain in-depth inter-racial, cross cultural experiences.
5. Understand cultural limitations of I. Q. tests with minority group students.

6. To develop the knowledge and understanding necessary for understanding the student from the student's point of view.
7. Develop an openness to the acceptance of differences of people.
8. Develop respect for the worth and dignity of each individual.
9. Develop the knowledge and understandings necessary to respect individual members of minority groups as human beings.
10. To become aware of the ethnocentric point of view of most curriculum materials and knowledge of ways to revise and correct such materials to give a true representation of the cultural diversity of our society.
11. To gain knowledge which would permit the utilization of the skills, competencies, attitudes and values children develop in their out-of-school lives.
12. To gain knowledge on which to develop instructional materials relating to self-identity/cultural and ethnic identity.
13. To gain appreciation for the richness brought to society by its varied ethnic, racial and cultural position.

Activities:

1. Read "The Rightness of Whiteness: The World of the White Child in a Segregated Society," by Abraham F. Citron (College of Education, Wayne State University). Discuss the implications of this paper for building a pan-ethnic society.

2. Describe the following people as if they were food, cars, furniture or animals:

	Negro	Puerto Rican	Oriental	American Indian	Chicano	Black
Food						
Car						
Furniture						
Animal						

Discuss responses in small groups. What does this tell you of your own multi-cultural appreciations?

3. Complete the following statement: "Being white is. . ."
- Statements may or may not be shared with class.
4. Discuss the Anglo-Saxon self image in terms of:
- never seeing group to which you belong in a negative light
 - never thinking of yourself as being in a racial group
 - family group
 - peer group
 - religious group
5. Discuss the Anglo-Saxon image of minority groups in terms of:

- a. the influence of schools
 - b. the influence of the family
 - c. the influence of media
6. Discuss the cumulative result of the typical Anglo-Saxon experience:
- a. ignorance of the history of other cultural, racial and ethnic groups
 - b. failure to see the oppression that is perpetuated
 - c. lack of awareness of how viewed by other groups
7. In small groups, discuss the historical Anglo-Saxon response to the facts of discrimination, racism and prejudice:
- a. denial, disbelief, further entrenchment of status quo
 - b. the White liberal response (guilt, sympathy) with the inherent superiority feeling
 - c. alternative responses
8. Complete the following statement: "Being white is. . ."
- Compare this statement with statement written at beginning of Module. Discuss any changes.

Module: The Black Experience

Objectives:

1. Understand the relationship between minority group membership and low socio-economic status.

2. Understand the nature of the color caste system of this society.
3. To gain knowledge and understanding of the Civil Rights movement.
4. Understand the relationship between minority group membership and the experience of schooling.

Activities:

1. Read and discuss The Autobiography of Malcolm X. List the major periods of his life and significant events which occurred during each.
2. Develop and review with the class a Chronology of Significant Events in the History of the Black Man in the United States.
3. Develop and review with the class a Chronology of Significant Events in the Civil Rights Movement.
4. Read and discuss in small groups The Strange Career of Jim Crow, an account of the development of the segregation system in the South.

Module: The Asian American Experience

Objectives:

1. To introduce students to the Asian American experience in the United States.
2. To create awareness on the nature of racism encountered by Asians in America.

3. To historically examine how an inaccurate image held by Americans becomes manifested both internationally and domestically.
4. To examine how Asian Americans differ from and are similar to other minority groups.
5. To sensitize the students to the most important issues confronting Asian American communities.

Materials:

"War Bond Propaganda" film, "Manzanar" film by Bob Nakamura, and "Wong Sinsaang" film by Eddie Wong.

Procedure:

1. Introductory comments on the background of Asian Americans.
2. "War Bond" film - an example of how media was used to distort the image of Asians and incite hysteria.
3. "Manzanar" film by Bob Nakamura - a personal reflection by a Japanese American on the internment of 110,000 people of Japanese ancestry into concentration camps.
4. "Wong Sinsaang" film by Eddie Wong - probes the various human levels of a Chinese laundryman.
5. Lecture: "American Racism and the Asian Experience."

6. Discussion on: Asian immigrants, their economic and political history, stereotypes reflected in media and attitudes, social adaptation and acculturation, and current and future issues.

Module: The Socialization Process of the Urban Classroom

Objectives:

1. To develop understanding of the socialization process of schools.
2. To develop knowledge of how the socialization process of schools serve society.
3. To develop understanding of the socialization process of the urban classroom.
4. To be able to define the socialization process of the urban classroom.
5. To identify ways students are socialized in schools.
6. To begin a process of redefining the traditional role of teachers as carriers of the culture of society.

Activities:

1. Read literature discussing the socialization process of schools in general and of urban classrooms in particular.
2. Define 'Socialization process of the classroom.'
3. Cite examples demonstrating what is meant by 'Socialization process of the classroom.'

4. Discuss the socialization process in terms of roles in society and class levels.
5. Identify some specific ways through which students are 'socialized.' Explain.
6. Discuss the socialization functions of the schools in terms of your role as an urban school teacher.

Module: Teacher Expectation and Pupil Performance

Objectives:

1. To become familiar with the research on teacher expectations and pupil performance.
2. To understand the correlation between teacher attitudes and pupil achievement.
3. To understand the relationship between teacher attitudes and the nature of the classroom experience for the pupil.
4. To understand the nature and significance of 'the self-fulfilling prophecy.'

Activities:

1. Read major research findings on teacher attitudes and their relationship to pupil performance.
2. Discuss findings presented in the research on teacher attitudes and pupil performance.

3. Identify and discuss ways teachers exhibit their attitudes toward students in the classroom.
4. Discuss teacher attitudes which have positive effects on pupil performance. Identify behaviors which result from these attitudes.
5. Discuss teacher attitudes which have negative effects on pupil performance. Identify behaviors which result from these attitudes.
6. Complete the Cultural Attitude inventory. Discuss responses in terms of what they imply for teacher behaviors.

Module: Techniques for Developing a Positive Self-Concept

Objectives:

1. To understand the relation between self-concept and pupil academic performance.
2. To identify and understand forces which influence self-concept development.
3. To become familiar with the research on effect of self-concept on pupil achievement.
4. To specify teacher attitudes and behaviors which influence pupil development of a positive self-concept.
5. To specify teacher attitudes and behaviors which influence pupil self-concept development in a negative way.

Activities:

1. Read three selections from the literature on student self-concept and relation to academic achievement and discuss in small groups the following issues:
 - a. The relation between self-concept and pupil academic performance.
 - b. Factors which influence self-concept development.
 - c. Correlations between teacher interest, teacher behaviors and pupil self-esteem.
2. Each participant should develop five activities to be used in a classroom at a specific grade or age level aimed at developing a positive self-concept. Each participant will 'try-on' one activity with his group. After each activity, the class will critique the technique in terms of its effectiveness in developing a positive self-concept. Participants will then share the remaining list of techniques with the group. After discussing each technique, compile a list of teacher attitudes and behaviors which influence pupil self-concept development in a negative way.

Module: The Hidden Curriculum of the Classroom

Objectives:

1. To develop an understanding of how the school environment results in certain types of learnings.
2. To understand how the structure and organization of the classroom results in certain types of pupil learning.
3. To identify specific ways in which the hidden curriculum manifests itself.
4. To identify some of the unstated goals of schools.
5. To specify effects of the unstated goals of schools on pupil learnings.
6. To become familiar with the research and literature on the hidden curriculum of the classroom. To understand that what students learn is what happens to them in the classroom.

Activities:

1. Define and discuss the concept "hidden curriculum" of the classroom.
2. Using "Your Classroom As You See It! A Self Study for Teachers and Paraprofessionals," (Bank Street Follow Through, 1970), discuss how the learning situation influences what is learned in the classroom.

3. Read "Methods of Encouragement," in Encouraging Children to Learn, and "Techniques for the Antiseptic Manipulation of Surface Behavior," adapted from Controls from Within.
Discuss the effects of teacher behaviors in the classroom on types of pupil learnings.
4. Read "What Are the Schools Teaching" on "incidental learnings" in the classroom in Goldhammer, Supervision, pp. 18-20, and Postman, N. and Weingartner, C., Teaching As A Subversive Activity, pp. 19-21. Referring to your own school experience, develop a list of 'learnings' students get from the 'hidden curriculum,' and teacher behaviors that result in these learnings.
5. Read "The Impact of School Philosophy and Practice on Child Development." Discuss the findings of this research in terms of pupil learnings and compare with your own schooling experience.
6. Develop a continuum from the traditional to the modern, progressive type school. Write a descriptive paragraph of each end of the continuum. Place yourself on the continuum and write a description of your position.
7. Use the Self-Anchoring rating scale to establish a picture of the 'ideal classroom.'
8. Development criteria showing how the 'hidden curriculum' can

be dealt with, e.g.:

The teacher adjusts and shows concern for physical features of the learning areas. Some types of evidence:

- a. physical conditions provide an environment that is conducive to learning
- b. contents and arrangement of furniture and materials show concern for all students
- c. care, concern and utilization of areas and materials by students is in evidence
- d. informality of setting, togetherness, and involvement of instructor, students, parents, custodians, and administration is in evidence.

Module: Values and the Urban Classroom

Objectives:

1. To provide a background against which students may begin to clarify their own values.
2. Participants will identify values that are traditionally "taught" in schools.
3. In small groups, participants will discuss values that are traditionally taught in schools in terms of how they prepare individuals to function in society.

4. Identify and list specific teaching methods, techniques and teacher actions in the classroom that indirectly result in student acquisition of certain values. List those values.
5. List values participants hope to teach in the classroom. Give examples of activities developing these values.
6. Develop a list of terms teachers use to describe students. What types of values are inherent in these terms.
7. Help students understand the devaluation process that often occurs in urban classrooms.
8. Help participants understand how many traditional teacher behavior patterns undermine the perceived self worth of the student.

Activities:

1. Exercise for Experiencing Values from Richard Reichert, Self-Awareness Through Group Dynamics. (In small groups)
2. In small groups, discuss objectives three and four in terms of your own classroom experiences as a student and in terms of the articles: Barbara Biber and Patricia Minuchin, "The Impact of School Philosophy and Practice on Child Development," and Laurence Kohlberg, "The Moral Atmosphere of the School."
3. Read "What Are the Schools Teaching," in Postman, N. and Weingartner, C., Teaching As A Subversive Activity.

Write a list of specific teaching methods, techniques and teacher actions in the classroom that indirectly result in student acquisition of certain values. List these values.

Discuss your list with a small group.

4. Share with a small group the values you hope to teach in the classroom. Discuss activities in terms of their usefulness in achieving the stated goals.
5. In a small group, discuss terms teachers use to describe students and the types of values inherent in the terms.
6. Read the attached list of "Values in the Classroom." Which values would you delete from the list? Why? What values would you add to the list? Why?

Values in the Classroom

Confidence

Respect

Love

Fidelity

Inquisitiveness

Questioning

Curiosity

Pride

Not to bow to authority

Honesty

Awareness and perceptiveness

Openmindedness

Value of creativity

Respect for others

Importance of sense development

Respect of books

Value of own creative work

See people for who they are, not for what they look like

Respect for animals

Courteousness

Responsibility

Competitiveness with self

Equality

Diligence

Cooperation

Truth

Self-pride

Trustworthiness

Self-confidence

Drive-initiative

Sincerity

Determination

Freedom

Leadership

Loyalty

Courage

Communication

Individualism

Appreciation for other cultures

Appreciation for different ideas

Self-evaluation

Memorizing is not the key to scholastic achievement

You have to know how to think if you want to be somebody

It is not how fast you learn, but how much you learn

You can accomplish anything you want to

Speak what is on your mind, even if you don't think it is the right
answer

Don't be afraid to question other's opinions

Learn to trust your judgment

Self-esteem

Sensitivity to others

Something isn't bad because it is different

Authority need not be respected solely because of its position

Oneness of man

Tolerance

Module: Operationalizing Your Philosophy of Education

Objectives:

1. To examine and refine your Philosophy of Education.
2. To examine ways we can determine if classroom practices are consistent with your philosophy of education.
3. To develop techniques for operationalizing your philosophy of education in a classroom.

Activities:

1. Write and share with class your philosophy of education.
2. Using skills, knowledge and understandings developed in Modules on "Strength Training," "Values and the Urban Classroom," "The Hidden Curriculum of the Classroom," "Racism and the Teacher," and "The Socialization Process of the Classroom," develop a list of specific techniques for operationalizing your philosophy of education.
3. Using knowledge and skills developed in modules on "Evaluating your performance in the classroom as Teacher," and "Interaction Analysis," list ways one can continually determine if classroom practices are consistent with the stated philosophy of education.

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATIONS, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS

A sixteen week course called "Survival Strategies for Urban Schools" was presented in a modularized format. The course aimed at the development of those skills, sensitivities knowledges and understandings believed necessary for successful teaching in urban schools. The clarification and specification of those skills, sensitivities, knowledges and understandings became the basis for the development of the fifteen modules which comprised the course. The sixteen items listed under attitudes (sensitivities) for teachers for the inner city, fourteen items listed under knowledge and understandings, and the thirty-eight listed under skills for teachers for the inner-city served as goals which the modules directly or indirectly sought to accomplish.

Sixty participants in the Center for Urban Education, Teacher Education Program were enrolled in Survival Strategies during the spring semester of the 1971-72 school year - the first offering of the course in a completely modularized form. Though participation in some modules was required of all students, other modules could be taken on a selective basis. For example, students who chose to participate in the Springfield experiment were not required to participate in the microteaching laboratory. Microteaching provided

an opportunity for students to define, practice and evaluate their performance on a set of specific teaching skills in a laboratory situation, while the Springfield experiment provided an opportunity to engage in the same process but in a reality based situation.

One other feature of the CUETEP program is relevant to a consideration of "Survival Strategies." The Center for Urban Education has integrated its undergraduate, masters, and doctoral programs so that they complement each other. One of the goals of the doctoral program is to train administrators and teachers who are able to develop training and retraining programs for inner city schools.

A crucial advantage of the modular format has been the opportunity to use a wide variety of instructors. For the instructors in "Survival Strategies" the course provides the opportunity to test out their training skills and to organize the logistics of complex, interrelated programs. There is no question that using graduate students as instructors in the undergraduate program has enhanced their graduate educational experience. For the undergraduates, the variety of instructors has provided many different opportunities to interact with people of rich and varied experiences in urban schools.

Student Evaluation

An Evaluation of the course sought to determine the relevance and effectiveness of the course from the perspective of the participants and also from the perspective of the course facilitators. Participants were asked to

give their reactions to the content of the course and methodology (form I) employed which involved a modularized format and seven persons serving as course facilitators. The course facilitators were asked to evaluate the course in terms of appropriateness of content, the accomplishment of major goals and the methodology employed (see form I). Further evaluation is needed to determine the effectiveness of the course in preparing participants for the student teaching experience. An overall aim of the course was to tool participants up to maximize learnings during the internship. An evaluation of the course participants during their internship will reveal much useful data and also an evaluation during and at the end of the first year of teaching. That evaluation, however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

During the eighth week of the course, participants were asked to complete a course evaluation. This was precisely half-way through the course - which means that reactions may change dramatically during the remaining eight weeks of the course. This seems unlikely however, for an analysis of the results of the evaluation supported statements made by participants in the informal counseling sessions:

"This is the most exciting course I have taken at the university. I'm a _____ major and I spend more time preparing for this class and looking forward to coming to this class than any other course I've taken since I've been in the university."

". . . I really spend a lot of time getting ready for this course. I never expected to get anything like this [course] down here [at the university]. This is the most exciting class that I've taken."

The course evaluation instrument was a questionnaire adapted from the Illinois University course evaluation form. It contained thirty-four items in four major categories:

1. Course content
(items 4, 6, 9, 13, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19, 20, 23, 27, 30, 31, 32).
2. Method of teaching
(items 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 16, 23, 25, 29).
3. Organization of course
(items 17, 21, 26, 28, 34).
4. Usefulness of course
(items 1, 2, 7, 15, 22, 33).

Students were asked to respond in four categories: Strongly Agree, Agree, Strongly Disagree, and Disagree. Participants completing the questionnaire remained anonymous, hopefully achieving a maximum degree of honesty in securing responses.

What the data shows is that students thought very highly of the course content in terms of its appropriateness and its usefulness. An overwhelming majority of the participants (ninety-five per cent) felt that they gained from taking the course, one hundred per cent felt that the content of the course was worthwhile, and ninety per cent felt that the content of the course was excellent.

Reactions to the organization of the course and the method of teaching were more varied. This course was the first course in the CUETEP program to be completely modularized, and a lack of resources sometimes led to lopsided difficulties. Though students were familiar with the modular concept,

FORM I

COURSE EVALUATION

Key

SA = Strongly Agree

A = Agree

D = Disagree

SD = Strongly Disagree

(Percentage who responded)					Median Response	
SA	A	D	SD			
1. 0	0	45	55	3.5	It was a waste of time.	
2. 35	55	5	5	1.8	Overall, the course was good.	
3. 29	52.3	4.7	14.2	2.0	More courses should be taught this way.	
4. 25	70	5	0	1.8	The course held my interest.	
5. 10	15	60	15	2.8	I would have preferred another method of teaching in this course.	
6. 61.1	55	0	0	33.3	It was easy to remain attentive.	
7. 0	4.7	42.8	52.3	3.7	Not much was gained by taking this course.	
8. 27.7	55.5	16.6	0	1.8	The instructor encouraged the development of new viewpoints and appreciations.	
9. 50	50	0	0	1.5	The course material seemed worthwhile.	
10. 5	0	50	45	3.3	It was difficult to remain attentive.	
11. 10	10	60	20	2.9	There was not enough student participation for this type of course.	
12. 30	70	0	0	1.7	The content of the course was good.	
13. 23.8	61.6	9.5	0	1.7	Held my attention throughout the course.	
14. 0	5	50	45	3.4	Uninteresting course.	
15. 35	55	5	5	1.8	It was a very worthwhile course.	

16.	5.8	17.6	64.7	11.7	2.7	Some things were not explained very well.
17.	21	50.5	21	5.2	2.1	The way in which this course was taught results in better student learning.
18.	00	4.7	47.6	47.6	3.2	The course material was too difficult.
19.	0	0	35	65	3.6	One of my poorest courses.
20.	15	85	0	0	1.8	Material in the course was easy to follow.
21.	0	21	57.8	21	2.9	Course material was poorly organized.
22.	0	5	55	40	3.3	Course was not very helpful.
23.	35	55	10	0	1.7	It was quite interesting.
24.	21	63.1	10.5	5.2	1.9	I think that the course was taught quite well.
25.	5	20	70	5	2.7	I would prefer a different method of instruction.
26.	5.5	45	33.3	16.6	2.5	At times I was confused.
27.	25	65	15	0	2.0	Excellent course content.
28.	17.6	50.5	23.5	5.8	2.0	Generally, the course was well organized.
29.	0	0	88.8	11.1	3.0	Ideas and concepts were developed too rapidly.
30.	5.5	0	83.1	11.1	2.9	The content of the course was too elementary.
31.	5.2	31.5	57.8	5.2	2.5	Some days I was not very interested in this course.
32.	0	5.2	50.5	42.1	3.2	It was quite boring.
33.	16.6	72.2	11.1	0	1.9	The course was quite useful.
34.	50.5	26.3	10.5	10.5	1.7	I would take another course that was, taught this way.

none had participated in a course that was offered on a completely modular basis. Part of the complexity of the organization of the course involved the offering of optional learning experiences. Participants were required not only to choose from a series of modules to achieve a given course objective, but were then required to choose from a variety of learning activities within each module. In addition, the modular format required that participants become competent in the use of flexible scheduling. Instead of coming to the course three hours once per week on a given day, participants had to select modular activities and develop their own schedule accordingly. Seventy-eight per cent of participants were comfortable with this type of course arrangement with fifty per cent of these indicating strong approval. Twenty-one per cent were uncomfortable with this type of course organization with ten per cent indicating that they would 'strongly disagree' with taking another course that was taught this way.

Items on Method of Teaching the course were closely related to those on the organization of the course. The modular format of the course was facilitated by having a number of graduate assistants with experiences, skills, and expertise in the various content areas of the course assist in the development and coordination of the modular offerings. This meant that course participants were in contact with a number of different facilitators for the same course and, with the exception of a given course counselor, and the primary course facilitator, they had no sustained contact with those involved

in developing and coordinating course offerings. Participant reactions to this method of teaching were clearly consistent with their reactions to the organization of the course. Seventy-five per cent indicated that they felt comfortable with this method of teaching the course and eighty-nine per cent agreed that more courses should be taught this way.

An analysis of the data presented in Tables II and III indicate that participants:

1. felt that the course content was good
2. prefer the facilitator-coordinator method of teaching
3. prefer the modular approach to course organization
4. felt that this course was useful to them in the obtainment of their educational goals

Facilitators' Evaluation of Course

Six graduate assistants were involved in the development and presentation of course modules. Coming from diverse backgrounds, ethnically as well as experientially, these individuals added a further enriching dimension to the course. After the broad outline of the course was presented with the generalizations on which the course was based and a statement of aims and objectives, facilitators then assumed responsibility for developing the learning activities that comprised many of the course modules.

FORM II

COURSE EVALUATION

A = Agree

D = Disagree

- | A | D | |
|-------|-------|---|
| _____ | _____ | 1. The content of this course was appropriate for training teachers for urban schools.
Comment: _____
_____ |
| _____ | _____ | 2. The modular method of teaching this course was more appropriate than other methods of organization.
Comment: _____
_____ |
| _____ | _____ | 3. This course was effective as a pre-practicum experience for urban education teaching majors.
Comment: _____
_____ |
| _____ | _____ | 4. The major goals of this course were achieved.
Comment: _____
_____ |
| _____ | _____ | 5. This course promoted adequate student participation.
Comment: _____
_____ |
| | | 6. If you could add one other module, what would that be?
Title: _____

Objectives: (list as many as you think of) _____

Activities: (list as many as you think of) _____
_____ |

Facilitators were asked to respond to a questionnaire containing six questions (see 112). The first question dealt with the appropriateness of the course content for training teachers for urban schools. All of the facilitators are familiar with CUETEP and the aims and objectives of the program which was designed partially in response to the ineffectiveness of existing programs to adequately prepare teachers as evidenced by teacher performance in urban schools today. One hundred per cent of the facilitators agreed that the content of the course was appropriate for training teachers for urban schools. Comments by facilitators on question one were significant:

"The various offerings gave the future teachers a brand new perspective on urban schools and life styles."

"Future teachers will need to continually evaluate their performance in the classroom. This course provides the essential knowledge and the tools necessary to do this."

The second question sought reactions to the modular method of teaching the course. One hundred per cent agreed that this method was more appropriate than other methods of organization, commenting that, "it offers greater flexibility for both the students and the facilitators; it is a right on way of being relevant. It breaks the students from traditional arrangements and teaches them to be flexible in their own teaching, with the involvement of a number of individuals and their resources, many types of experiences and points of view are shared."

Question three related to the effectiveness of the course as a pre-

practicum experience for urban education teaching majors. Again, one hundred per cent agreed and related Survival Strategies to other types of pre-practicum arrangements. Their comments dealt with the variety of types of experiences built into the course and the fact that ". . . the material was so essential that those who do not have this knowledge cannot possibly be successful as teachers in urban schools."

On questions four and five, one hundred per cent of the facilitators agreed that the major goals of the course were achieved and that the course promoted adequate student participation. On question six, which sought indications of additional modules that should be included in the course, no suggestions were given. According to the facilitators then, the course:

(a) is appropriate and relevant, (b) serves to develop those skills, sensitivities, knowledges and understandings deemed necessary for success as teachers in urban schools in an effective way, and (c) is a significant and effective component of the total program (CUETEP).

Conclusions

An examination of the traditional goals of American education showed them to be circumscribed by racism, in both its individual and institutional form. This evidence leads to the conclusion that the traditional goals of American education have been non-functional for Black people as well as for other minority groups. A second conclusion is that in order for the schools

and for education as an institution to become functional in terms of Black people, both must begin to deny the necessity for and to assist in the destruction of America's color caste system.

In order to do this it was found that major changes must be made in the preparation of those who are most vitally involved in this societal revolution; the teachers. A further conclusion was that not only must significant changes be made in teacher education programs, but also in the terms used to describe teacher success.

A final conclusion is that programs can be developed which effectively prepare teachers for urban schools, that it is possible to specify and develop a set of characteristics necessary for urban school teachers through courses such as Survival Strategies. This means a new type of course content and experimenting with different types of course organization as was done in Survival Strategies to permit a maximum amount of flexibility in course participation. Building into a course the type of flexibility that allows participants to capitalize on learning opportunities not originally scheduled into a course as was done with the Springfield Experiment is a must.

Recommendations

Major recommendations implicit throughout the dissertation are:

(a) there should be more teacher education programs designed specifically to prepare teachers for the inner city, (b) all teacher education programs should be revised with a new definition of goals, a new definition of teacher roles and

a new definition of successful teaching, (c) all teacher education programs should aid individuals in understanding individual and institutional racism and developing skills in eliminating it.

Other recommendations relate to course structure and method of teaching: (a) greater flexibility should be built into teacher education programs as well as into the structure of courses that comprise program components through a modularized or similar type of course arrangement. Opportunities for students to develop their own learning activities should be built into courses as well as the capacity to take advantage of every opportunity for inner city classroom based learning experiences, (b) the facilitator method of teaching should be utilized to a greater extent in teacher education programs to provide perspective teachers exposure to a variety of persons with diverse skills, backgrounds and experiences.

Obviously, the course did not end or eliminate racism. It started a process of recognition and discussion which are moderate steps in the process of the elimination of racism. By calling for an extensive internship, the program allows students to do something with their knowledge and test their idealism in schools in the next year. The program also allows students to come back to school after the internship to refine and continue to develop skills. What the program has established, is that as long as people can continue to go around and behave as though the emperor has on new clothes, racism as a social and educational phenomena will never be dealt with.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

The bibliographical sources for this dissertation fall into three categories:

(1) Racism in American Education, (2) Urban Teacher Training Programs, and (3) Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills for Future Urban Teachers. The literature cited in each category is not intended to be comprehensive, but rather to indicate some of the significant work in each topic.

RACISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

Few contemporary authors write revealingly about racism in American education, particularly in a way that points towards strategies for change.

A recent book has proven extremely useful in providing a broad framework in which to discuss racism in American education and to move to the next level of pointing out strategies for combatting racism: Atron Gentry, Byrd Jones, et al., Urban Education: The Hope Factor (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1972). Other standard general references in this area include: Harold Howe, Kenneth Clark, et al., Racism and American Education: A Dialogue and Agenda for Action (New York: Random House, Vintage, 1970); Louis L. Knowles and Kenneth Prewitt, Institutional Racism In America (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1969); Wilson C. Riles, Urban Education Task Force Report: Final Report of the Task Force on Urban Education

to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, (New York: Praeger, 1970); and Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., Youth In the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and A Blueprint for Change, (New York: Oron Press, 1964).

Some of the sources documenting the prevalence of racism in other societal institutions include: Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, (New York: Bantam Books, 1968); and William Kephart, Racial Factors and Urban Law Enforcement (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957). Several articles were useful as sources of documentation: "Black Lawyers and Judges in the United States, 1960-1970," Ebony Magazine, August, 1970; and "White Control and Minority Oppression," Foundation For Social Change, September, 1971. Appearing for minorities and non-minorities alike, the most powerful personal statement about white racism in America remains the Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1966).

Two major studies discuss the phenomena of teacher expectations as they effect pupil performance as well as the in-school experience of the urban child: Elcanor Burke Leacock, Teaching and Learning In City Schools, (New York: Basic Books, 1969); and Robert Rosenthal and Lenore F. Jacobson, Pygmalion In the Classroom, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1968). Kenneth Clark, Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power, (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1965) was particularly useful in discussing

teacher attitudes and the in-school experience of urban youngsters, Clark's "Clash of Cultures in the Classroom," in Moyer Weinberg, ed., Learning Together, (Chicago: Integrated Education Association, 1964) reveals the results of a survey on the attitudes of teachers in inner city schools about their student. Two articles on teachers views of students by Miriam Dann were useful: "New Teachers In Urban Schools," in James Stone and Frederick C. Schneider, eds., Teaching In the Inner City (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970); and "Teach Them Passivity," in Richard Wisniewski, ed., New Teachers In Urban Schools: An Inside View (New York: Random House, 1968). A little noticed but significant study on the interrelationship between position in social class, corresponding teacher attitudes, and the resultant pupil performance is a study completed by Ray C. Rist, "Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy In Ghetto Education," in Lawrence Fink and Raymond Ducharme, Crisis In Urban Education, (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1971).

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The source of many of the author's views about urban teacher training is experience working in and consulting for various programs across the country. As a high school social studies teacher in Kansas City, Missouri, for four years, I observed the system as it underwent rapid change. In Paseo High School where I taught, the school population shifted from predominantly white to 80 per cent Black within six years. Yet the staff remained 70 per cent white, with most staff remembering "better times" and those close to retirement rapidly learning. During 1969-70, I worked with CUTE (the mid-west Regional Lab Cooperative Urban Teacher Education Program), with Teacher Corps, with the Career Opportunities Program, and instituted workshops in Black History and human relations for teachers in the Kansas City system.

At the University of Massachusetts, in the Center for Urban Education at the School of Education, my primary responsibility during the past two years has been to design and administer CUETEP - the Center for Urban Education Teacher Education Preparation Program. During 1970-1972, I served as a consultant for the following urban school systems for their teacher training programs: Louisville, Kentucky; Pasadena, California; and Baltimore, Maryland. During the summer of 1971, I worked in the Center for Urban Education's teacher certification program for Boston, Massachusetts.

Attitudes, Knowledge, and Skills for Future Urban Teachers

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire for Participants in Survival Strategies

1. Who are you? (Write on paragraph)
2. Where do you come from?
3. Why are you in the Urban Education Program?
4. What is a teacher?
5. Why do you wish to become a teacher?
6. Why do you wish to teach in an urban school?
7. What do you feel that you have to offer urban children?
8. React to these terms:
 - a. Culturally disadvantaged
 - b. Hyper-active
 - c. Culture shock
 - d. Culturally deprived
 - e. I.Q. tests
 - f. Racism
9. What attitudes do you feel are necessary to be successful as an urban school teacher?
10. What behaviors do you feel are necessary to be successful as an urban school teacher?
11. What specific skills do you feel are necessary to be successful as an urban school teacher?
12. What kinds of knowledge do you feel are necessary to be successful as an urban school teacher?

APPENDIX B

Toward A New Behavior Style for Teachers

NEGATIVE TEACHER BEHAVIORS:

make a child feel inferior to other students

call a child a liar

embarrass a child because of his home training

have favorite students in the classroom

believe stories about a student passed on by other teachers

impose your values on students, so as to make their life styles seem inferior

come to class unprepared

make fun of a child's speech patterns

feel superior to your students

be inconsistent in your behavior

be intimidated by authority

drag out a lecture

make an example of a student

ask a question if you don't know the answer

kick a student out of the room or blow your top

force someone to remain after school for disciplinary reasons

harp on a student when he is wrong

do something for teacher's advantage at student's expense

make value judgments

go too fast in order to maintain a schedule

allow yourself to become an authority figure

embarrass students

have students stand ~~outside~~ the door

send students to another room as punishment

yell at students

special rules for the bathroom

ignore a child who raises his hand

hit a student

smoke in front of students

curse in class

develop an attitude against a particular student

make a child appear incompetent

sit in teachers lounge and discuss students

tell a child that he cannot do something

punish a child in front of other students

make fun of students

tell a child he doesn't know what he is talking about

pretend to know everything

label students

scold a child for giving a wrong answer

run the classroom like a dictator

be sarcastic

leave some students confused

ignore students' questions

insult a child

blame the student for not learning

tell a child he is wrong if he has an opinion the teacher disagrees with

when a child has trouble answering, ask another student if he knows the answer

physically punish a kid

insist on constant quiet and control

imply that neatness is a sign of intelligence

terminate a discussion that obviously holds much interest for students

expect less from certain students

express that only good kids are liked and only good kids do well

point your fingers when you talk

sit behind your desk and lecture

threaten kids that something bad will happen to them if they don't do a particular thing

emphasize only those papers that are perfect

ignore an experience that a student wishes to share with the rest of the class

make a student stand at any time he is talking to you

make students put head on desk when he misbehaves

say "do it because I told you to do it"

let personal life influence behavior in classroom

get overly involved in a personal way with students

say you haven't got time for a student

scare a student

underestimate a child's ability

take out your frustrations on a student

give work for the sake of work

load 'troublemakers' with needless errands

classify students as dumb, smart, etc.

bribe students

be on an ego trip

become stagnant, using same books, plans, etc. year after year

be rigid

always stick to a lesson plan

try to make a child conform

think you know it all

make a child feel ashamed of his background or abilities

assume a talkative child is bright or a quiet child is slow

tell a child his question is stupid

cut a student off to get back to the subject

assume that because one student knows the answer, everyone understands

emphasize mistakes

tell students not to do something and then do it yourself

stick tape on a student's mouth

talk about a student's older sister or brother and compare students

force students to work fast

call on a student when you know that he doesn't know the answer

go back on your word

-look for one correct response

POSITIVE TEACHER BEHAVIORS:

let the student be individual

let students know if they are doing well

listening to the words of every child as having value

talking with instead of to or at children

establishing trust with students

respect for students

having a friendly relationship with students

developing curriculum that relates to students

developing attitude that every child has potential

behavior that reflects that teacher is pleased with students

encouraging students to interact with each other

give each student positive reinforcement whenever possible

encouraging students to pursue their own interests

plan field trips very carefully

always call student by name

encourage students to do their best

show concern

helping students when they need help

talk to students in a friendly manner

answer students' questions

don't be afraid to say "I don't know"

encourage discussion

be tactful when dealing with a disciplinary problem
deal with relevance of the community in which you are teaching
praise students when they are correct
allow students to do things, e.g., projects in their own interest
get involved in the neighborhood
show practicality whenever possible instead of theorizing
allow readings to be flexible enough for students to develop wide interests
encourage students to resolve their differences by discussion
defend students' rights even when it puts you at odds with authority
be a friend to students
establish a good rapport with parents
be flexible in your daily plans
be cheerful and understanding
have an attitude that children can teach you as well as you teach them
encourage individual creativity and expression
respect and accept students as they are
be willing to try something new
always be cheerful
let students know that you appreciate their comments
always make sure that students understand the lesson
if a student does not understand the lesson, try to see if it is the teacher's fault
always show interest in what students are doing
be a person that students can trust

allow students to work out their problems without you or others doing it for them
show students there is more than one way to arrive at a correct answer
allow interaction that is not teacher oriented
allow life experiences of kids to be brought into course development
accept individuality and creativity
stress insight and thinking rather than just the right answer
make the students feel important
freedom for students to work collectively in group activities
be consistent
touch
be aware of child's interests and needs
relate subjects to child's experiences
recognize and reinforce small achievements
show concern
be sincere
help students develop a positive self-concept
let students know what you expect of them.
try to include everyone in classroom discussions
try to know each child individually
ten minute talk time sessions
if a child has an idea, be flexible enough to use it
give students an idea of internationalism rather than racism

allow students to be alone to think things over

let the student figure out and use his own method of problem solving

care and let it show

give students choices

make a student feel welcome

be available to students

strive to reach the inner potential of each student

admit your mistakes

try to lift a student's spirits when he is low

be yourself as a person

maintain a pleasant disposition at all times

let students arrange the classroom

join in physical activity with students

get to know students' family and community

APPENDIX C

Toward A New Vocabulary for Teachers

TERMS TEACHERS SHOULD NOT (or very carefully) USE WITH AND ABOUT

CHILDREN:

stupid

shut up

nice people

wrong (depending on context)

right (depending on context)

sit still

be neat

don't talk

don't say things like that

you should be ashamed

let's see who's the best at. . .

awful

idiot

jerk

dummy

dope

imbecile

unmotivated

lazy

unintelligent

bad

horrible

ignorant

I don't have time

hate

you don't know anything

you can't

don't bother me

I'm tired

you're a pest

liar

derogatory racial terms

inferior

boy

girl

better or best

nigger

whitey

ugly

slow-witted

lame-brained

fat

knuckle head

wild

animals

brats

can't

impossible

ridiculous

TERMS TEACHERS SHOULD USE WITH AND ABOUT CHILDREN:

new

exciting

interesting

fascinating

good idea

explore

I don't know!

you can

please

together

let's try to work it out

thank you

very good

excellent

angel

darling

beautiful

great

wonderful

marvelous

yes

sorry

you are improving

do you understand?

what's happening?

Black

love and peace

rights

tolerance

proud

discuss

honesty

I'm proud of. . .

we

let's

I like

try harder

don't give up

outstanding

better

nice

creative

fine

good thinking

shows insight

how original

think for yourself!

APPENDIX D

Workshop on Racism

December 7, '71

Workshop: Teacher Behavior Patterns and Racism

Purpose:

- a) The identification of teacher behavior patterns that contribute to the perpetuation of racism;
- b) To identify behaviors that assist in the elimination of racism;
- c) To suggest ways these can be dealt with in a teacher training program.

Instructions:

- a) Make a list of as many sets of teaching behavior patterns as you can identify.
 e.g.: Teacher: What do you think we're going to do today?
 Teacher: I'm thinking of a word. Can anyone tell me what the word is? It begins with "E."
- b) Where possible, identify what incidental learnings might occur.
 e.g.: See teacher behaviors listed in (a).
 As a pupil in this class, I might learn: "My job is to guess what the teacher has in mind and then give him what he wants."
- c) Where possible, identify source:
 - from personal observation
 - told to me by an administrator (pupil, parent, teacher, etc.)
 - read in a book. - Goldhammer, Robert,
Clinical Supervision (Holt, Rinehart & Winston: N.Y.) 1969.

Definitions:

- a) When teaching behavior promotes incidental learning that causes students to feel that one race is superior to another, has done more for mankind, is more civilized, has a language style superior to that of others, deserves better educational, economic, political and social opportunities, has higher values, better morals, is "more advanced," behavior that depreciates the worthiness of another race, then a racist pattern exists.

- b) When teaching behavior promotes incidental learning, that prepares students to be emotionally comfortable in a multi-racial society, helps students to know and understand the prejudice and discrimination that denies equitable treatment to large numbers of people on the basis of race and the inconsistency of this practice with what is known as the American ideal, that people of all races have the same human needs, that no race is known to be superior in native intelligence to any other, that racism is man's most dangerous myth, that heightens the learner's sense of the worthiness of various cultures and races and increases his knowledge of the history of all races, then should a positive pattern exist which leads to the elimination of racism.

Summary:

The ultimate goal of this workshop is to provide information that may serve as a basis for a reexamination of the goals of teacher education programs generally. Hopefully, this will involve restating priorities and defining new objectives for teacher education programs toward the elimination of racism.

The need for this information is based on several assumptions: a) that equality of educational opportunity as defined by outcome is a goal and cannot be achieved where there are teachers behaving in a racist fashion, consciously or unconsciously; b) that many teachers unwittingly help perpetuate a system of inequalities, and finally; c) that if we can specify what some of those teaching behaviors are, perhaps we can begin to build constructs into our teacher education programs which develop desired behaviors and teaching styles and at least make prospective teachers conscious to the point of attempting to avoid negative, racist teaching behaviors.

THE WORKSHOP

The primary aim of this workshop was the listing of teacher behavior patterns either contribute to the elimination or perpetuation of racism, and the development of a design for incorporating these into teacher training programs. This list, with the design would be given to TPPC (the Teacher Preparation Program Council) for dissemination to all teacher education programs in the School of Education.

An additional Agenda was expressed by a workshop participant who would use the list in the development of a very intensive training program similar to micro-teaching. Finally, a request has been made to make this list available to a workshop planning a brochure for high school teachers on racism in the classroom.

The original list of statements coming out of the workshop have been categorized here, somewhat arbitrarily, into the following categories:

Cultural Awareness

Curriculum

Attitudes

Teacher Skills and Behaviors

Testing

Values

Many statements were made relative to teaching, teacher education and racism which could not be stated in terms of behaviors and have been deleted from the list. No attempt has been made to distinguish between those behaviors felt to perpetuate racism and those instrumental in the alleviation of racism. Generally, those stated in negative terms contribute to the perpetuation of racism and those stated in positive terms assist in the elimination of racism.

This list represents the beginning stage of what is hoped will be a new trend in teacher education. This list must be extended and refined and efforts made to operationalize these in terms of teacher education.

Cultural Awareness

The culturally limited teacher is a racist teacher.

Being perceptive of others' cultural patterns.

Failure of teacher to go through a process of acculturation.

Failure to understand the different value worlds of students.

Failure to deal with words like "primitive," "advanced," using white washed pictures and other items in the classroom.

Unawareness of having a cultural hang-up or hang-over.

Being open to understand students.

Recognizing and accepting pupil cultural behaviors.

No knowledge and understanding of history and culture of other people.

Directing students to certain professions or trades on basis of ethnic stereotypes.

Failure to consider that your construction of reality may be different from mine.

Curriculum

The organization of the curriculum content.

Failure to examine system of rewards and punishment in classroom.

Failure to examine and revise structure and content of all classes and lessons.

The Artifacts (pictures, dolls, toys, etc.,_ in elementary classroom continue racial limitations.

Failing to deal with the issue of racism as an educational issue.

Double standards in the classroom.

Types of questions asked on examination.

Teaching a white view of the world to young children.

Blinding children to problems of racism.

Relevance of question and response exercises.

Goals and objectives that are built on a given race, and class value system.

Materials that reinforce a given set of cultural values.

Limited selection of physical self-images for students as projected through pictures and displays in classroom.

Failure to challenge classes whose purpose is the socialization of students.

Attitudes

What he stands up for in the teachers' lounge and what he ignores.

What clubs the teacher works with.

When learning readiness is perceived as being dependent upon cultural and racial background.

Preference for a given type of physical appearance.

Exaggerated and patronizing behaviors.

Feeling that given students will be unable to cope.

Not being honest about where students are coming from.

Basing relations with students on test scores, principal and other teacher remarks.

No Black Quarterbacks on football team because of racist presumption.

Acting on "honest expectations" as "accurate expectations."

Acting on the belief that white middle class schools are superior.

Discouraging White and Black students fraternizing.

Teacher fear of disagreeing with Black students.

Teacher afraid to get personally involved.

Treating Black students as intellectually and psychologically different.

Perception of learning readiness as being racially or culturally determined.

Inability to recognize that people learn in different personal ways.

Teacher Skills and Behaviors

The ranking or ordering of concerns in the classroom may reflect a racial bias.

Skill in finding out where kids are at.

Attempting to assess intelligence via a standardized test.

Rewarding students who reinforce teachers' biases.

Types of language patterns used in communication with students.

Failure to call on some students in class.

Picking only certain types of students to perform honor chores.

Inability to trust students.

Supporting a tenure system that supports racism.

'Patronizing' rather than 'taking responsibility for'.

Granting certain privileges only to white students.

Special dispensation: excusing behaviors (poor expectations).

Ignoring Contributions of certain types of students.

Failure to take a stand among one's peers.

Negative verbalizations about Black students behind their backs or just loud enough for them to hear.

Protection of student on basis of family position or lack of it.

Availability to parents/guardians for Conferences.

Physical responses to students that vary according to race.

Verbal responses that vary in quantity and quality according to race.

Use of cumulative record to damn a child in advance.

Inability to hear (comprehend) what students of another race are saying.

Testing

Testing that reinforces a given value system.

Class and economic testing and grouping.

Labeling students - hyperactive, etc.

Values

Imposing a given type of value system on students.

Negating the value of the students and their world.

Failure to understand the different value worlds of students.

Recognizing the legitimacy of different skills in negotiating value conflict.

Insisting on a correct behavior style.

APPENDIX E

Outline for the Study of An Urban School System

- I. The politics of the system
 1. Centralization decentralization
 2. Description of districts
 3. Racial composition of districts
 4. Racial composition of Board of Education or School Committee
 5. Relationships with city administration
 6. School community relations
- II. The Economics of the system
 1. Sources of monies for district
 2. Per pupil expenditures
 3. Economic description of city
- III. Curriculum
 1. Who developed
 2. Input of community
 3. Selection of texts
 4. Opportunities for vocational training
 5. Continuing/adult education
 6. Testing - tracking
- IV. Administration and teaching staff
 1. Racial composition as per districts
 2. Policies and practices in hiring, firing and promotions
 3. Teacher turnover rate as per district
 4. Use of substitute/permanent as per district
 5. Average years teaching experience as per district
 6. Salaries
 7. Use of paraprofessionals
 8. In-service teacher training
 9. Pupil-teacher ratio, as per district
 10. Teacher selection criteria

V. Support services

1. Counseling practices
2. Remedial services
3. Pre school training

VI. Facilities - Compare districts

VII. Pupil problems and methods of handling

1. Drop out rate
2. Absenteeism
3. Juvenile delinquency

VIII. Types of schools

IX. Laws affecting schools

X. Alternative forms of education available in city

